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PROFESSOR OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

OUTLINES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

BY

TOBIAS DIEKHOFF, PH.D., LIT.D.

JUNIOR PROFESSOR OF GERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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WILHELM

DEDICATED TO
JULIA CATHERINE DIEKHOFF

Waz hât diu werlt ze gebenne liebers danne ein wip,
daz ein senede herze baz gefröwen müge?
waz stiuret baz ze lebenne danne ir werder lîp?
i'ne weiz niht daz ze freuden hôher tûge,
denne swâ ein wip von herzen meinet
den, der ir wol lebet ze lobe.
dâ ist ganzer trôst mit freuden underleinet:
disen dîngen hât diu werlt niht dînges obe.

Und ob es Mühe und Arbeit gewesen,
so ist es köstlich gewesen.

PREFACE

"THE study of German is so rapidly increasing in prevalence that there is pressing need of raising it to a somewhat higher plane. I trust it will be found that this volume contributes its part, though a small one, to so desirable an end." These are the words with which in 1869 William D. Whitney, to this day, perhaps, America's foremost philologist, closed the preface to his German Grammar. At the same time he pointed out that there was "a large and increasing class of students, whose philological training has to be won chiefly or altogether in the study of the modern languages," and that for these "German offers peculiar advantages, quite superior to those presented by any other modern language."

When we compare the ripe scholarship of Whitney's work of fifty years ago with the modern tendencies to find above all things an easy access to the acquisition of German; his scientific interest and seriousness, his touch upon the inward springs of language development, with the present day heedless rush for practical accomplishment and its attendant superficiality, we have reason to bow our heads in contrition and heed as a handwriting on the wall the ruthless pronouncement of a German naturalist philosopher, that all foreign language study is not only worthless, but a positive stumbling block in the path toward a liberal education.

Language teachers recognize the injustice and prejudice in such condemnation. At the same time, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that more and more the study of foreign languages is pursued not for its own inherent value, but for ulterior purposes, however legitimate they may be.

I have long had the conviction that for the loss of prestige suffered by language study during the last twenty years, the profession is not altogether without blame. In trying to meet the popular clamor for practical results, often enough coming from sources whence it should be least expected, we have allowed our work to grow more or less superficial, giving more attention to a favorable appearance, to entertainment of the learner than to serious study with its sure and lasting reward. The best, if not the only way in which we may rehabilitate ourselves in the esteem of seriously minded students, is by laying surer and deeper foundations for our work. In this book I meant to put my efforts in this direction at the service of all teachers and students who are interested in gaining an intelligent understanding of linguistic processes as they manifest themselves in the German language.

Those passing judgment upon my work I beg to bear in mind that it is intended to serve practical purposes. It is not meant to be an exhaustive grammar, as Curme's well-known work, but it aims to give direction to the student in gaining a standpoint from which he is able independently to judge of language facts and language processes; it aims to make him free in the face of bewildering facts, and to induce him to have an open eye for the language processes at work in our speech as well as in that

of our ancestors. I have for this reason endeavored to differentiate clearly what may be regarded as tolerably well established fact from what is still hypothetical. The same consideration has led me also to treat some parts somewhat more at length and to cut short others. That I should in all instances have hit upon the golden mean I am not presumptuous enough to think; but I think I have succeeded in keeping the work within so small a compass that the ground can comfortably be covered in a two or three-hour course throughout the ordinary college year.

Two classes of students I have had in mind in preparing the book. On the one hand, this treatise, without presupposing much or any acquaintance with the older stages of the language, aims to be simple and plain enough to afford profitable private study for teachers of German who have not had the advantage of a systematic course in historical German grammar. On the other hand, I have endeavored to keep the work on a thoroughly scholarly and scientific level, so that it might profitably be made the basis for a sound course in historical German in University, College, or Normal School, the professor in charge having full sway in amplifying and illustrating the fundamental facts and principles set forth in the book. I even venture to think that students of historical English grammar could with profit study particularly the first part.

My debt to predecessors in the same field of labor is great. I do not know whether I owe more to Eduard Sievers, my former teacher, or to the monumental grammar of Wilmanns. For the second part I am under heavy

obligation also to Wunderlich, Blatz, and Erdmann, nor have I hesitated to draw examples and illustrations from the rich store of Grimm and of Curme's Grammar. For the short treatise on phonetics Luick and Hempl were made tributary. A very personal, deeply felt gratitude I wish to express to Professor Julius Goebel, the editor-in-chief of this series. With his broad scholarship and generous interest he freely gave encouragement and help, suggesting many a slight change that put the matter in hand in a clearer light. He even enlisted the generosity and critical judgment of his colleague, Professor H. S. V. Jones, who made valuable suggestions in the direction of clearness and in a number of instances eradicated stylistic oddities which, even after these many years, still betrayed the foreign origin of the author. In the same direction the staff of the Plimpton Press, with generous and most intelligent devotion, exercised their scrutiny in my behalf. What mistakes and imperfections still cleave to the work, I shall be very grateful to have pointed out, and I may perhaps venture the request that reviewers may favor me with copies of the periodicals for which they write.

One other person has a share in this book, very great and yet too intangible to find specific mention. To her it is dedicated.

TOBIAS DIEKHOF

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,
April 27, 1914

LITERATURE

It need not be said to any one familiar with the subject that the following list does not comprise by any means all the works used in the preparation of this book. I mention here only such books as might reasonably be expected to give additional help to such students as read German with some ease, and have attained the advancement requisite for a profitable study of this treatise. Additional references can conveniently be found in various parts of Wilmanns' *Deutsche Grammatik*. To many authors of books and articles in journals I well recognize my own indebtedness, though their works are not mentioned in the following list. Such are, to mention but a few, Braune, Bremer, Jespersen, Sievers, Streitberg, Bethge and Dieter, and many others.

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EXPLANATIONS

> is a sign used to indicate that the sound designated by the letter before it develops into the one following it: $t > z$ means: t becomes z . The reverse sign < indicates the reverse relation: $z < t$ means: z developing or coming from t .

þ is read "thorn," and designates the th -sound as pronounced in *thorn*; name and character are taken from Anglo-Saxon authors.

þ , ð , g are provided with the cross lines to indicate the spirantal nature of the sounds which in most cases later developed into b , d , g and were not always distinguished from them in form in the older dialects.

Nhg. = New or Modern High German.

Mhg. = Middle High German.

Ohg. = Old High German.

Ags. or O.E. = Anglo-Saxon or Old English.

Idg. = Indo-Germanic.

Low German, in this book, usually means the Low German as spoken in East Frisia.

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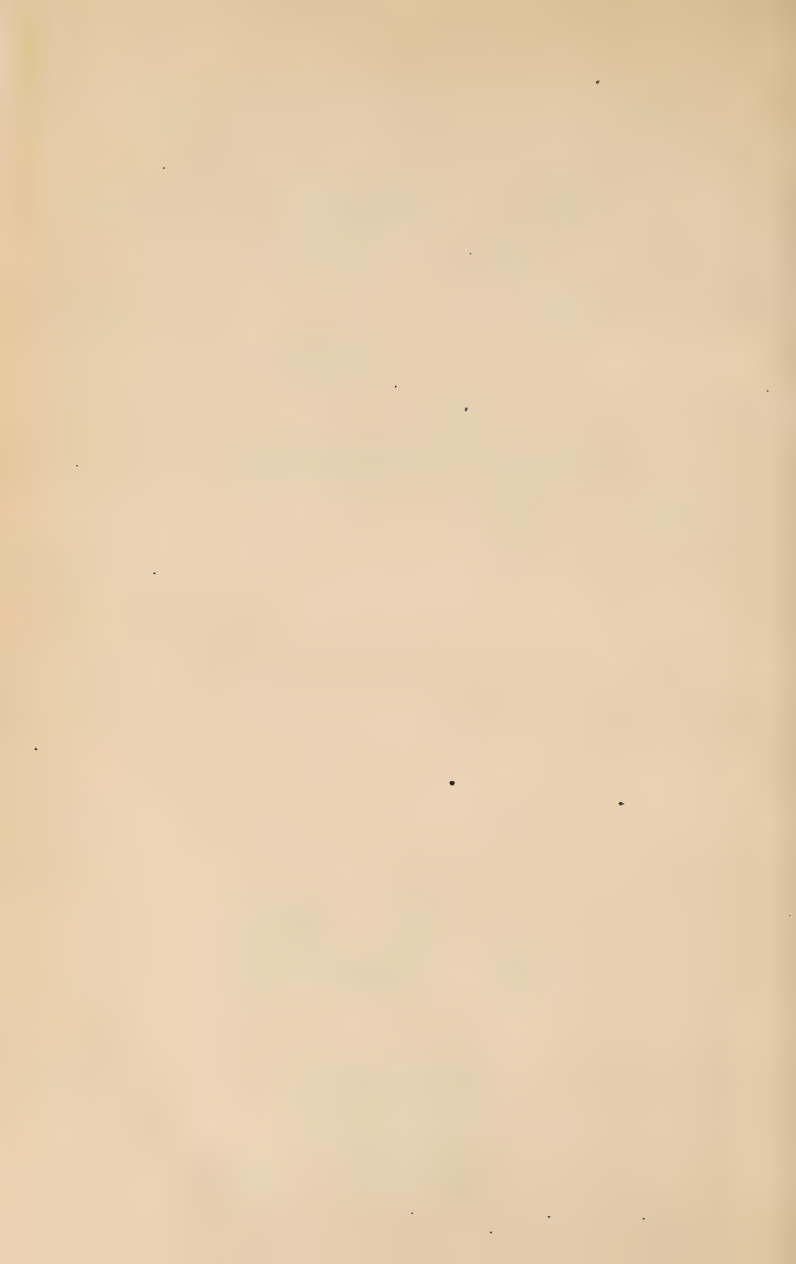
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PART ONE
PHONOLOGY, INFLECTION, AND
WORD FORMATION

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

CHAPTER I

LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE STUDY

A. WHAT IS LANGUAGE?

§ 1. **The Subject of Grammatical Study.** The subject of grammatical study is language. This is so well known that explicit mentioning of the fact seems quite unnecessary. But the current notions with respect to the exact nature of language are vague and inadequate, and the grammarian with anything like scientific aims is put under the necessity of defining as clearly as possible the subject of his investigation. For in his field, possibly even more than in that of other sciences, a clear conception of the nature and "habits" of his "specimen" are of the utmost importance for a correct understanding of it.

Undoubtedly, this general information about language could most profitably be gained in the study of the mother tongue, and it might seem almost as if a German grammarian, in attempting to supply this needful general knowledge to English speaking students, were trespassing upon the ground of his English colleagues. He finds his excuse in the very general observation that the average

student considers himself so fully a master of his native tongue that he can but rarely be induced to undertake anything like a deep study of it. Thus the various nations of Europe for centuries felt very comfortable in the study of Latin alone; and when at last the popular dialects were made a subject of study it was the Latin language which furnished the standard, a standard which even in our days enjoys a prominence, popularly almost as undisputed as it is harmful and undeserved when judged as to its adequacy in helping to form correct ideas of the real nature and spirit of our modern dialects.

At all events, the average student of German lacks preliminary linguistic training, which to supply, in as small a compass as possible, is the aim of this chapter.

§ 2. Various Meanings of the Term 'Language.' The term 'language' is used in various senses. We speak of a language of signs, which in its most perfect form is that of the deaf and dumb. Occasionally we hear of a language of flowers, or even of postage stamps. But in all these cases the term language is used in a figurative sense, much the same as when Lessing speaks of a hairpin as a weapon.

We speak further of Homeric Greek, Ciceronian Latin; or similarly of Shakesperean or Miltonic English, Lutheran German, and so forth. This usage, convenient and admissible for practical purposes, is in line with the older conception of language as the sum total of what is found in any one literature or smaller group of literary monuments. In fact, to this day we dignify the vernacular of a people with the term language if it has a literature and call it a dialect if it has none.

But a definition of language must be more exclusive in

one direction and far more comprehensive in the other. We cannot admit gestures and symbols as language, nor can we confine our considerations to merely the written word.

§ 3. **Is Language an Organism?** Quite as erroneous is the conception of language as a sort of organic growth. Many of our grammatical terms and popular utterances, such as 'the life of a language,' 'the spirit of language,' 'the development of language,' and still other expressions, had their origin in a comparison of language with the subjects of the natural sciences. But it needs only a moment's reflection to see that the "development" in the various stages of a language bears least of all any resemblance to the phenomena of organic nature. The term 'living language' is a misnomer. Language has no independent life. It is absolutely dependent upon the speaker, inseparable from him. A word passes out of existence, is in this sense dead, with the breath that produces it. If there is anything permanent about language it is the large number of psychological concepts and groups of concepts which are back of, correspond to, the words we utter. These are sometimes called the inner language of an individual, and this would accordingly die with him.

To conceive, then, of language as in any way separable from man, as anything in the remotest way independent of him, is a mere abstraction, totally false. It was probably caused mainly by the fact that all linguistic study was for centuries centered upon the ancient languages, come down to us in written monuments only, which, to be sure, outlast their authors and seem independent of

them. They are, however, not only insignificant fragments of the languages of ancient peoples, but are at the same time very imperfect images, as we shall see later.

Real language is spoken language, and all really scientific linguistic study must begin with spoken language, most naturally with one's own mother tongue. This fact, though late in being appreciated, has in a comparatively short time not only brought into prominence the philology of modern tongues, but also revolutionized the study of the ancient languages, so that it can no longer pose as a model, or teacher, but must assume the position of a learner. Classical philology worthy of the name takes its most fruitful general principles from modern philology.

And yet we can with some justice speak of development or evolution in language. Romance scholars show us how, with perfect regularity, certain French or kindred Romance forms have taken the place of corresponding Latin or Italic forms. Just as the naturalist establishes a regular gradation or succession in the development of a species, so we are also tempted to see in a series such as Gothic *habaiða*: Ohg. *habêta*: Mhg. *habete*, *hâte*: and Nhg. *hatte* a similar development. And there is no great harm in speaking of these forms as having developed, if we bear in mind that the word here means something essentially different from what it means in the natural sciences. Organic development is based upon the propagation of the species through reproduction. The new individual is cell and fiber of the old, and yet separate and distinct, an individual by itself. Language, on the contrary, has no physical existence; it is an outgrowth, a function, a

manifestation, of human thought, feeling, and volition. In so far as it changes, or shows "development," at least, it is far less subject to physiological than to psychological laws. Development in language is of somewhat the same nature as the development of a story or of a report passing through the mouths of a number of persons; and, looked at in this way, it was not unjustly regarded by older grammarians as degeneration.

Other terms, similarly, may easily produce wrong conceptions. If we want to speak of a living language it must be the language of a living people now using it. And what is this language of a people? It is, or ought to be, nothing more or less than the sum total of the languages of the individuals constituting the people. And the general tendency manifesting itself in the average usage of the people now speaking the language, and, so far as we have the means to know, of the people having spoken it before, may be called the spirit of a language, if we want to use the term at all.

§ 4. How does a Child learn his Language? It is a view quite as erroneous as it is still common that the nativity, the blood of a person, may essentially help or hinder him, when mature, in acquiring a language as yet foreign to him. We might at best grant a slight physiological or anatomical aptness of the vocal organs for the production of the sounds of a given language. But this inherited predisposition is of so little actual value that it hardly deserves mentioning except for the purpose of correcting prevailing opinion. A language is not born with a child; it is an acquired art. Born with the child is only the ability to acquire this art, an ability not found in any

animal. In the acquisition of language there is involved a physiological and a psychological element. Physiological — at any rate involving the physical organs — is the training of the ear correctly to distinguish the sounds of a language and the training of the vocal organs correctly to reproduce them. Psychological is the association of certain ideas with given sounds, as the word *table* with the object of wood for which it stands. Psychological in particular is the process of analyzing the sentence, the normal unit of language, into its constituent words and the corresponding unified idea into its constituent elements. Psychological is also the arrangement of words into endless groups and categories according to meaning and function, according to form and formative changes, as, for instance, the categories commonly known as parts of speech, or those determined by inflection, by suffixes or prefixes, etc.

Just how we learn a language, particularly just how a child learns its mother tongue, will probably never be quite understood. A complete solution of this problem awaits an answer to the question of the origin of language, a question often attacked, but never answered and, to all appearances, unanswerable; just as we can never know why the spider makes his web and the bee his honeycomb. All we can say of the origin of language is that the human mind — and it alone — is by nature endowed with the ability and provided with the necessary physical organs to produce and to learn language. We do not know what sort of language man may have “spoken” in an hypothetical stage of development so far removed from his present attainment that any

comparison is almost impossible. But all will readily grant that it must have been very much cruder and simpler than any language accessible for study. This linguistic prototype was in essence no more a language than the prototype of man was in essence human.

Often the attempt has been made to follow the progress of a child from its first feeble efforts to speak to the time when it can readily communicate with others. There are numerous difficulties besetting all such undertakings. Foremost of them is the fact that the psychological processes of the child differ essentially from those of the observer, and it is doubtful whether the observer can ever at all adequately put himself in the position of the child. Moreover, a child is soon aware of being observed, and at once his language ceases to be the naïve, unconscious expression of his mental processes and becomes instead an artificial product no longer fit for observation. To all this comes the added difficulty that no fair conclusions can be reached from the observation of a very small number of children. By the time the ordinary observer has acquired the necessary training for this field of linguistic study his material usually gives out; for a study of this kind requires such thorough intimacy with the child that the observer must necessarily be a member of the same family.

It seems plausible, however, that the child, just as it imitates its elders in other respects, attempts to imitate them in producing sounds also. Unquestionably, at first these sounds convey no definite ideas to the child; they are without meaning. Very gradually word and object, or idea, are associated, purely by act of memory, so that

when a child hears a given word, the corresponding idea is suggested. How perfectly it hears is hard to tell; it is easier to see how very imperfectly it reproduces. But that in many instances this imperfect reproduction is due to imperfect hearing is evident if upon clear enunciation by an elder the child overcomes its difficulty. To people who have vainly struggled — for years possibly — to acquire just the right pronunciation of a foreign language, until quite probably they themselves are no longer aware of any imperfections, the wonder is not that the efforts of the child are so imperfect, but that it so soon overcomes all difficulties.

Very early the memory receives an important ally. The child begins to associate words and forms into groups, chiefly by similarity or contrast in form, meaning, or function. Particularly, inflectional forms and derivatives of all kinds are made by analogy to other forms with which they can be associated. Thus, quite unconsciously, the learner creates all sorts of models after which new forms are made.

§ 5. **How do Language Changes come about?** That language changes is incontrovertible. But here, as in respect to the precise manner in which we acquire language, not all the mysteries have been solved, nor ever can be solved. It is safe to say in general, however, that very many changes in language — except some few changes produced by meddling grammarians — are due to a lack of precision either of the physiological or of the psychological operations involved in speaking. And so we may, roughly, divide the changes occurring into two corresponding groups: those mainly due to a lack of pre-

cision on the part of the physical organs, or, in the main, phonetic changes; and those involving the operations of the mind more particularly, or, in the main, analogical and anticipatory changes. But it is plain that here as in every other human activity no sharp line can be drawn between the physical and the psychological. Who will say, for example, whether a faulty pronunciation is due to inaccuracy of hearing, inaccuracy of the vocal organs, or to a lack of psychological co-ordination?

§ 6. **Phonetic Changes.** a. *General Change in Pronunciation.* By long practice the child acquires the ability to hear and to reproduce the sounds constituting his language, so that both the listener and the child itself are convinced he has learned the language perfectly. But a change in pronunciation, though imperceptible while in progress, undoubtedly occurs, and occurs with so much steadiness and regularity, that some slight difference between the old and the new generation must necessarily be assumed. In fact, the difference between grandparent and grandchild is usually sufficiently marked to be noticeable; and the difference in a few centuries becomes apparent, even from written monuments, to the most superficial observer. There seems to be but one conclusion possible: The child did not in every respect exactly reproduce what it heard from its elders. What the cause may be is not so clear. It has been said that the co-ordination between the nerve centers stimulated by the auditory sensations and the nerve centers in control of the vocal organs is inaccurate. (In exceptional cases physical imperfections may also be the cause of imperfect imitation.) This would look reason-

able but for one consideration. How can we, with this hypothesis, explain the fact that practically the speech of the entire younger generation is a unit again, which presupposes that the members of the younger speech group perfectly understand, and perfectly reproduce the language of one another? Also another explanation, plausible enough in itself, does not answer the ultimate question of why we have constantly practical uniformity and agreement within the speech of any generation and yet obvious divergences from an older speech group. This explanation, given by Wilmanns in his German grammar, calls attention to the fact that under different circumstances, the same word, uttered in different moods, under various modifications of pitch and stress, assumes entirely different forms. The person speaking has as a standard the form of the word as he pronounces it by itself. From this standard he varies, unconsciously, on different occasions. The younger generation learning from him hears in but very rare instances his words in isolation; i.e., any of his words truly representative of his standard. From the various forms which they hear they, also unconsciously, make a new standard for themselves, and it is quite conceivable that variations from this new standard should differ from the variations of the old. What is not apparent is, why the new standard of the younger generation should again be practically a uniform standard.

But no less indisputable than the practical uniformity of language within any given speech community is, on the other hand, the fact of change in language. And, speech being inseparable from the speaker, every change

must eventually have its origin in some one person. The influence from person to person, particularly in language, is so subtle that it can only in most exceptional cases be traced at all. And those who as adults have had much to do with children know how often we unconsciously adopt innovations of children as well as of our equals in age. But with advancing age we become less ready to adopt changes in language as in everything else. It is a well-known fact that any one out of his teens but rarely learns to speak a foreign language without most pronounced peculiarities of pronunciation. The only reason discernible is that the vocal organs, and the ear, and the psychic organs making the connection between the two, have become thus early less responsive, perhaps largely because different speech habits have become too firmly established in previous years. So, also, there must be a stage in life when we no longer take notice of any changes going on in our common vernacular, or at least do not react upon them. Change in language is going on all the time, and the resulting differences, slight as they are, are being obliterated continuously, so that ordinarily we are not even aware of any change. As in other matters so also in language a peculiarity must be more or less marked before we take notice of it; and it is on that account that we can possibly detect a difference in the speech of very old people and not in that of those less remote from our own generation. In the period that has lapsed since the time when our grandparents became non-responsive to linguistic changes, the differences have grown to be so marked that they are now easily noticeable.

But would it be fair to conclude that every change starts with children or even with the younger generation? This is surely not the case. Both physical and, to a much greater extent, psychical factors exert their influence upon our way of speaking so subtly and in such variety, that, theoretically at least, it is safe to say we never utter the same sentence, we never utter the same word twice in precisely the same way. All of our emotions give color to the utterances of our mouths. Buoyancy and weakness, sickness and health, find here their reflection. Indeed, there are cases on record of persons intimately acquainted foretelling coming disease from a peculiar quality of the voice. So that it is probably safe to say that the language of any person is never quite the same at different times. Every time he speaks he may start an innovation. Every speaker of a language, more or less directly and more or less intensely, influences every other speaker, of the same smaller community at first, and of the entire speech group ultimately. All those still responsive to these changes, infinitely large in number and infinitely small in degree, will react upon them and may possibly adopt them; those beyond that line will not or cannot.

b. *Changes of Particular Sounds and Sound Laws.* In the midst of these general changes some particular sounds seem to change more radically. Why they should, we cannot know. These sound changes show so much uniformity within their particular speech group, that it is possible to deduce sound laws — laws not in the sense of a penal code, not in any way dictatorial, but laws as the expression of systematized facts. Sound laws simply

bring into categories phenomena that have come to our attention and have challenged our study. They differ from natural laws in that they are not of universal, nor of eternal application, but are confined to the particular language from which they have been deduced, at a particular time, and in a particular place. Throw a stone in the air, and it will come down, no matter where or when this may be done. But a *t*-sound, common at one time to all the Germanic languages, changed in South Germany only, and only at one certain period in certain positions of the word, to an *s*-sound, as in German *Haß*, English *hate*. But in the given locality, and at the given time, in medial and final position (except after dentals) it changed thus uniformly. And so we say, if at any given time, in any given locality, a sound or a combination of sounds, as such, undergoes a change in pronunciation, this same change occurs in all words or forms in which, at the same time, and at the same place, the same conditions exist. Any apparent exceptions to a law covering a large number of words with the same sound change presuppose some difference in attendant circumstances and involve the duty of the investigator to seek in case of each exception for the particular cause producing it. In many instances this has successfully been done; in many others it will probably never be possible. Opponents to the general theory of the “*Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze*,”¹ the theory that such sound laws are, within their bounds, of uniform application, without exceptions, would claim such instances as exceptions;

¹They are neither so very few, nor insignificant. Cp. Jespersen, *Phonetische Grundfragen*, p. 142 f., and p. 171 f.

adherents would still have faith in their law and feel in it a stimulus to renewed effort.

Just how these sound changes arise and what gives them their prominence and their regularity we cannot answer with any assurance. One thing is certain, however: they come about very gradually; so much so that persons using the language are never conscious of a change going on. Germanic *t*, e.g., did not suddenly turn up as *s* in the position mentioned. We have only the beginning and the end of the movement and cannot with any great certainty supply the intervening stages. Some one must have started the change and found a following which increased in strength until the changed form had become the norm. Undoubtedly there was for some time much wavering. The originator of the change may have mispronounced the *t* at first in but a single word, or everywhere, or in a group of words. Adherents of the thesis that sound laws are without exceptions would probably say, everywhere; but this does not seem inevitable, though in the majority of cases it would probably be so. If the innovation was imitated it could very well in the course of time gain universal sway. Sometimes innovations, particularly in the use of words, can be definitely traced. Every American must have noticed the unusual frequency with which the word 'strenuous' and its derivatives were used during President Roosevelt's administration. Fashion also plays a part. Not many years ago a female domestic servant was a 'girl,' as she is still in country places. But in places with any "dignity" she has become a 'maid.'

c. *Assimilation of Neighboring Sounds.* Neighboring

sounds, articulated in different places (cp. § 33) or in a different manner, always mutually influence each other, but in some cases more noticeably than in others. In such cases we speak of assimilation. Usually a preceding sound is assimilated to the following one, but assimilation in the opposite direction also takes place. Thus the Mhg. *kamb*, genitive *kambes*, became in Modern German *Kamm*, *Kammes* (at first probably pronounced with two m's). This is an approach of the second sound to the first, or progressive assimilation. But in *empfangen* for older *entfangen*, or *Himbeere* for older *Hindbeere*, we see the influence of the second sound upon the first and speak of regressive assimilation. Such assimilation is common in all languages. Its operations are, like those of analogy (to be mentioned in the next paragraph), quite capricious. In some words they appear, in others, apparently of the same structure, they do not. But it must be observed that infinitely more assimilations occur in actual speech than are indicated in our orthographies.

§ 7. **Analogical Changes.** Changes in inflection, and others more or less abrupt, come about differently. We unconsciously associate words with approximately the same or similar content if they are in any way alike in form; or words of contrasted meaning, following the regular well-known laws of association. Whenever for any reason a pair or a group of words approach each other or become alike in some ways, or in some particular forms, it is quite possible that they are made to be alike in every way. To illustrate: Certain formerly strong masculine nouns coincided with the weak masculines in

having an *e* as the ending of the nominative singular and became weak throughout as a result. Thus *Hirte* used to be *Hirte* also in the nominative plural. But *Bote* had *Boten* as a plural. Today *Hirte* follows the paradigm of *Bote*. The regular phonetic development often splits up paradigms, causing their forms to differ considerably. But these forms are closely associated by the sameness of meaning, and so often also outward conformity is restored by analogy. Thus in early Nhg. *fliegen* is conjugated, as it should be, in accordance with regular phonetic development: *ich fliege, du fleugst, er fliegt, wir fliegen, ihr fliegt, sie fliegen*. We now say also *du fliegst, er fliegt*; our paradigm is uniform. Sometimes this process of equalization or leveling, as it is technically called, is a very tedious one. At a time in the past so remote that a date cannot even approximately be fixed a development known as gradation, or Ablaut in German, resulted in a marked difference of the vowels in different forms of the same word, or of related words. Leveling began in Indo-Germanic times, possibly not very long after the results of the process were well established. It is seen in classical Greek, has almost obliterated gradation in Latin altogether, is found in the older West-Germanic dialects, and is not finished today. English has leveled more thoroughly than German; e.g., it has *sting stung stung* as over against German *singen sang gesungen*, or *hang hung hung* against German *hangen hing gehangen*.

There are many ways in which analogy works; but it is always the outgrowth of association, of something which two forms, in other ways different, have in common. Sometimes there seems to be some purpose in analogical

change; usually there is none. It always presupposes groups, or paradigms, as models. Hence we often find that a word, having changed its meaning and thereby given up its original function to such an extent that it is no longer associated with the group to which it rightfully belonged, is not subject to the working of analogy. Thus the Ags. had regularly *forléosan forléas forluron forloren*. By analogy we have leveled the verb to *lose lost lost*; but in the adjective, with figurative meaning, we still have *forlorn*. *Forlorn* was isolated from its paradigm, was not felt as belonging to the verb *lose*, and so avoided being changed.

Phonetic change and analogical change work, in a sense, in opposite directions. The first has a tendency to separate forms belonging together by sameness of meaning, the latter generally restores uniformity. It is important for the linguist to distinguish clearly between the two and to establish exactly what is the work of the one, what of the other, a task which is not always easy. Where we have to do with analogical change, old and new forms exist side by side, often for centuries; not so in phonetic change. Thus we have, side by side, *I sing: I sang, we sang; I sung, we sung*. Originally, *ic sang, we sungon*; or *ich ward: ich wurde*. New analogical forms are at first simply mistakes, exceptions from the general usage. By far the most of these mistakes are silently corrected. Only where they are so readily suggested by analogous forms that they are easily made by many speakers is there a likelihood of their being finally adopted. What was at first a mistake becomes the norm; and what was once the norm becomes at first less usual, then obsolescent, and

finally obsolete; e.g., German *fleugt*, *kreucht* for *fliegt*, *kriecht*, *sungen* for *sangen*.

Analogy produces not only new forms, but also syntactically new constructions, at first just as "incorrect" as the new forms. Owing to the loss of case distinctions in nouns, and partly also in pronouns (*you*, *it*), a noun or pronoun following a verb in an English sentence is almost invariably in the objective case. Cp. § 266. With the verb *to be* (also *become*, *seem*) there should regularly be a nominative: *He is a king*. But the form *king* or any other noun is also correct for the objective case. So an unmistakable nominative is left for the pronouns alone: *It is I* (*you*, *it* are also objective), *he*, *she*, *we*, *they*. After all other verbs followed by a pronoun we have *me*, *him*, *her*, *us*, *them*. And if we now commonly hear also *it is me*, *him*, *her*, *us* or *them*, there can be little doubt as to the reason for these forms. It is interesting to note in this connection that the nominative *ye* for the second person plural was, probably also by analogy, very early crowded out by *you*, and the old objective *you* occupies now even the place of the subject before the verb, not only that of the predicate following the verb.

It was, or is still, merely a matter of feeling on the part of the grammarian, who endeavors rather to be a lawgiver than a mere recorder of facts, if these changes were or are now branded as inorganic or false analogies. As a matter of fact, the process of analogy is one of the most important factors in language development, operative in changes of sounds, of inflectional forms, and of syntactical construction. Most linguists of today charitably omit from the phrase used above the adjective "false."

§ 8. **Speech Mixture.** Language is changed in pronunciation, in syntax, and in the use of words when it comes under the influence of other languages. In English particularly, French, Celtic, and Norse influence may readily be discerned. And similar foreign influences can be found in every other language of Europe. The English of the United States is especially beset with all sorts of foreign influence. For our purposes it is not necessary to go into any detail on this point.

§ 9. **Premeditated Innovations.** Most of the change in language comes about unconsciously. Occasionally fashion or other considerations play a small part. We might mention the affected pronunciation of English by some few persons in the West and Middle West in imitation of the East. But conscious changes usually affect the use of words; e.g., *limb* for *leg*, *maid* for *girl*, and similar innovations supposed to show a higher degree of refinement.

§ 10. **Formation of Dialects.** a. *Causes.* A direct result of change in language is the formation of dialects. It was stated above that certain changes hold only for certain districts. Language is a means of communication, and innovations can never spread farther than they are communicated. In spite of constant change, some subtle process restores or maintains uniformity within certain bounds and boundaries. If, however, at any place and for any reason the intercommunication of the people speaking the language is less close, local differences will appear which, if not interrupted, may be emphasized until they become the starting points of new dialects. An instructive example is Latin, with Italian,

Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Roumanian as descendants. The intercommunication within a speech group necessary for the maintenance of a uniform language may be interrupted by geographical obstacles, such as rivers, mountains, and oceans; or the causes of dialect formation may be political, as for example in the separation of the Dutch from the Low German. And still other causes are imaginable and probably occur. In our days, with our innumerable conveniences for intercommunication—railroads, mail service, telephones, newspapers, and other devices—and the consequent wide interests of commerce and all that is human, new dialects are not so easily developed. But our forefathers were clannish; their interests were narrow; they did not communicate widely, and so differences had more opportunity to become fixed. In Europe slight differences may often be observed in the speech of adjoining villages. To be exact, every speaker has his own language, peculiar to himself alone. If we combine a given number of speakers into a dialect group, we disregard certain slight individual differences within the group and emphasize what distinguishes it from other groups. Thus we divide the German language roughly into High and Low German, counting as High German whatever took part in the so-called High German or Second Consonant Shift and as Low German whatever did not. But in doing so we utterly disregard many other elements in which the sections bordering on the dividing line are alike. Besides, this consonant shift itself was not equally thoroughgoing in all localities affected by it.

b. *Dialect Boundaries.* From what has been said it

appears that we proceed in a manner arbitrarily if we draw anything like sharp lines between the different dialects of the same larger speech unit. Usually the lines between essentially different languages, such as German and Russian, or German and French, or even German and Danish, can easily be drawn, though there is every opportunity for some speech mixture along the borders. Distinct dialect lines usually coincide with older ethnic or tribal divisions. Related dialects can be rigidly kept apart only if the intercommunication was completely broken, as between the English and the Germans.

§ 11. Unifying Elements. A number of more or less emphatic differences make dialects; broad general conformity and agreement, on the other hand, unite a number of dialects into larger groups and keep the smaller dialects from splitting up into individual languages. Many of these unifying elements are so subtle, almost elusive, that they cannot find expression in our common writing at all. One of the most important is what we call the Specific Basis of Articulation of each dialect. That is to say, the whole operation of speaking is carried out by persons belonging to one dialect group, with the tongue and other vocal organs in slightly different correlation with each other from that of persons belonging to some other group. This basis once being found and correctly maintained during the production of the various sounds, the characteristic sound shades of the dialect are rather easily acquired. The average English speaking American as compared with a Middle German — whose dialect furnishes the basis for standard German — draws back his tongue slightly, broadens it, and raises the tip.

To speak characteristic German he must, of course, reverse. He must slightly push his tongue forward, which involves narrowing it a trifle, and avoid raising the tip. Besides, in speaking English our lips are less active than in North and Middle Germany. Hence the mutation or Umlaut of *o* in English is *i*: *goose*: *geese*, Low German *Göse*, or similarly *foot*: *feet*, High German *Fuß*: *Füße*.

It is remarkable, almost mysterious, how long such peculiarities of the dialects are preserved even after complete separation has taken place. Thus English is much closer to the Low German on old Frisian territory than to High German, not only in the general agreement of the tongue position, but it has in common with it also a much longer pronunciation of most of the consonants, a slower general tempo.

Besides the peculiar basis of articulation, each dialect has also its peculiar musical and dynamic accent, pitch and stress variations. Again, some dialects nasalize, others do not. And still many other factors might be mentioned.

§ 12. Written Language. It was incidentally mentioned that until recently undue attention has been given in grammatical study to the written word. But while it is true that the real nature of language can be best seen in the spoken word, yet to the linguist the written word is of the utmost importance also. Of the language of previous generations nothing but written monuments are left. — How far the phonograph and other mechanical devices for preserving more nearly the real language from generation to generation may in the future take the place of writing in linguistic study can as yet be a matter of

conjecture only. — It is plain also why linguistic study should at first have been centered upon the written language, and why, even to this day, literary language should be regarded as of a higher order. Language is the means of communicating our thoughts and feelings; and, whatever may have been the custom among more primitive peoples, among the more highly cultured the loftiest sentiments have always found expression in literature. Besides, in literature we have something fixed, something unchanging in a way, and something more easily accessible to the student than spoken language.

§ 13. Written Language and Language Changes. A notable characteristic of written language as compared with the spoken idiom is its rigidity, its comparative changelessness, and its greater formality. Latin as used by scholars long after the Middle Ages in comparison with its natural descendants, the Romance languages, shows this rigidity prominently. In normal cases, where a language is both written and spoken, some change in pronunciation takes place even when the language is read aloud. But negligent pronunciation, from which probably most of the sound changes start, invariably becomes manifest much earlier in the vernacular of daily life.

In the changing or development of inflectional forms the written language is more progressive, approaching more nearly the spoken. In other respects it is even freer than the spoken idioms, notably in the introduction of new words, in enlarging the vocabulary. This is due in part to the more complex nature of the subjects treated. New objects or new ideas call for new expressions or make

it necessary to assign new values to words in common vogue. Often, also, persons engaged in writing are more or less familiar with foreign languages. A foreign word suggesting itself for some idea may be either adopted or translated. Probably a literal translation of the Greek cognate for our *evangel* is the word *gospel* = good news. Its older form was quite probably *gôd spel*. A very thoughtful adaptation for the Latin *humilitas*, humility, we have in the German *Demut*, meaning originally the mind, the disposition of one serving.

Also syntactically the written language is much more involved and complex. The vernacular of the common man does not venture far beyond simple sentences.

In general we may say that the written language shows changes of form much more slowly than the spoken. The orthography of a language usually lags behind the phonetic development of a language, and new forms and expressions in what we call the colloquial style are but slowly admitted to writing; many of them die without ever being admitted. Of inadequate orthography our modern English spelling is the most glaring example. It dates back, in the main, to the sixteenth century, and with many of its numberless so-called silent letters to even an earlier period. French is not much better, and even German orthography is anything but consistent.

§ 14. **Inadequacy of Writing.** Except for one acquainted with the language and trained in the art of reading it, our systems of writing very imperfectly represent our language. In the first place, in writing we assume for each word in a sentence the form which it has when pronounced by itself, and it is not uncommon

to imagine that this form finds representation in our orthography. But the words in a sentence are not pronounced as they would be in isolation. And, moreover, our orthography, or any system of orthography so far invented, is inadequate to represent even this attempted form. In the process of speaking one's speech organs are kept in motion continuously. But in writing, only the most conspicuous stages, the crests of the waves, are indicated. Pronounce the characteristic sounds of the letters constituting a phonetically written word with all possible rapidity, and there will still be a very important element lacking, namely the various sounds made in passing from one letter to another. These transitional sounds are called glides. In writing they are entirely disregarded, and yet they are hardly less important than the sounds represented on paper. To be sure, any one correctly pronouncing the latter will usually also hit the glides. Representations of language in shorthand are still more rudimentary, and yet any one skilled in the art has no difficulty in reading shorthand.

Again, the same letter by no means represents the same sound, even in the same word, in different parts of the country, nor in different words in the same part of the country. Any German sentence, though written alike in the North and the South of Germany, is pronounced quite differently in the various sections.

Stress, and pitch, and tempo, all that we call modulation in speaking, find no representation in writing at all. And yet much of the emotional element in language finds in these speech elements almost its only expression.

§ 15. **Interpretation of Writing.** It is of the utmost

importance for the student of language as well as for the interpreter of literature to recognize and bear in mind this inadequacy of writing. In every case the reader has to give new life to the dead written word. As far as possible, he has to think of the writer as speaking what he has written. Regarding the mere matter of pronunciation this task is not so grievous in the case of living languages with which we are thoroughly familiar. In foreign living languages which we do not know from actual association with the speakers we have to depend upon the living voice of some one familiar with them if we would be sure of any knowledge of the real language, not merely of its content, but also of its form. In the case of dead languages the difficulties are multiplied. Any pronunciation of them can at best proceed but little beyond guesswork, though there are a number of aids for arriving at an approximately correct pronunciation, with which the student of any language no longer spoken has to acquaint himself.

A consideration of the relationship of written and spoken language is of particular importance in the study of any language accessible to us through its written monuments only; i.e., the dead and, under ordinary circumstances, the living foreign languages.

B. LANGUAGE STUDY. ITS VARIOUS WAYS AND AIMS

§ 16. **Descriptive and Prescriptive Grammar.** The study of language as language we call grammar. It is easily seen that the nature and method of grammatical study must differ according to the ends which it pursues.

Grammar as a mere auxiliary for the acquisition of a foreign language or as a directive for the use of our own is one thing; grammar studied as a science for its own inherent interest is quite another, though the practical and the theoretical sides of the study can very well be combined. The grammarian whose purpose is to furnish solely an aid for the practical and more or less superficial acquisition of a language may with some justice confine himself to a description of a given, fixed status of that language. He may, as it were, take a cross-section of his subject and assume that what he describes as existing facts will be regarded as a model to be followed. Descriptive grammar, in order to be successfully prescriptive, must as much as possible overlook variations and differences of usage.

§ 17. Historical and Comparative Grammar. From the time of the Greeks down to the beginning of the last century all grammar was descriptive and essentially prescriptive. Then scholars began to look for development, evolution we might say, in language as in other fields of investigation; the study of language became comparative and historical. By comparative grammar we mean the systematic comparison of sounds and inflectional forms and syntax found in various related languages; as, for example, the Indo-Germanic languages. Languages with a long history of their own behind them, as German and English, or the members of the Romance group, usually need but little light from related dialects on questions obtruding themselves upon the attention of the student. In the early stages of the Germanic and other languages, however, we are constantly beset with

problems whose solution largely depends upon hints found in related dialects. This treatise, addressed to students who are familiar with the pronunciation, the inflectional forms, and the commonest syntactical facts of the German language, is therefore of rather an historical than a comparative nature, endeavoring to throw some light on the causes and reasons for many apparently arbitrary and unreasonable linguistic facts.

C. PLACE AND RELATIONSHIP OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

§ 18. How is Relationship Determined? We have seen how dialects split off from a practically unified language by developing such differences as arise in the every day use of the language. The less marked the differences, the closer the relationship between various dialects. Common essential characteristics establish the kinship of different languages. We do not know whether related languages can ever grow so far apart that an original kinship cannot be established. In the case of many related languages we know from historians the time and occasion when kinsfolk separated and thereby initiated the differences existing at present. Thus we know from history of the emigration of the Anglo-Saxons, as we commonly call the ancestors of the English people. They spoke much the same dialect as the ancestors of the people now living along the German coast of the North Sea, which was also their former home. Even three or four centuries after their emigration the literary monuments of the two (Anglo-Saxon, and Old Frisian and Old Saxon) bear a strong resemblance to each other, and many sig-

nificant agreements can be detected today. If we did not know from history that the English and Germans stand in blood relationship to each other, the similarity of their languages would point unmistakably in that direction. As a matter of fact, we do in other cases consider that a number of essential agreements in two languages constitute presumptive evidence that the peoples speaking them occupied a common dwelling place or had a common ancestry, often quite remote both in place and time. The attempt to establish a relationship between all, or at least all the better known languages of the earth, though often made, is probably quite as hopeless as the endeavor satisfactorily to explain the origin of language.

§ 19. **The Indo-Germanic Family of Languages.** One of the most thoroughly investigated groups of languages is what we know as the Indo-Germanic, the Indo-European, or, as it is sometimes called, the Aryan family of languages. The extreme Eastern members of the group are, or were, spoken in India, the extreme Western ones by the Germanic peoples in Europe. This was meant to be indicated by the term Indo-Germanic, which is now commonly used. For our purposes it is not necessary to dwell extensively upon the relative position of the languages constituting the group, nor upon the individual characteristics of them all. A mere enumeration of the more important members must suffice.

Not counting a number of rather insignificant remnants, the Indo-Germanic (Idg.) family includes eight members, each with a number of descendants or subdivisions.

1. Indo-Iranian, also called Aryan in the narrower sense of the word. It includes the language of India, old, middle, and modern. Old Indian is essentially the language of the Vedas and Sanskrit; Middle Indian is commonly called Prakrit and includes a number of dialects, one being Pali. Modern Indian comprises about nine languages with a large variety of dialects. Iranian includes the Old Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions and the language of the Avesta, a collection of the sacred books of the Zoroastrians or Parsees. The language of the Avesta is also called Zend or Old Bactrian. The cuneiform inscriptions are records of the courts of several Persian kings beginning with Darius I (521-485 B.C.).

2. Armenian, meaning Old Armenian, which is widely different from Modern Armenian. Armenian and Indo-Iranian constitute the Asiatic group of the Indo-Germanic family, as over against the remaining languages at home in Europe.

3. Greek with its various dialects.

4. Albanian, at home in Epirus and Illyria. Extensive monuments do not date back beyond the seventeenth century. The language has been very strongly influenced by neighboring dialects. It is maintained that of over 5000 words only about 400 are really native.

5. Italic, including Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan, and Latin. Descendants are the Romance languages, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, French, and Roumanian.

6. Celtic, at one time at home in the larger part of western central Europe, now reduced to a few dialects. It is commonly divided into two groups: the Bretonic or Cymric group: Welsh, Cornish, Breton; and the

Gaelic or Goidelic group: Irish, Manx, and the Gaelic of Scotland.

7. Germanic, subdivided into three groups.

a. East Germanic, almost coextensive with the West-Gothic of Wulfila's translation of a part of the Bible. Insignificant remnants of a few other dialects seem rather closely related to Gothic and form with it East Germanic.

b. North Germanic or Scandinavian: Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic.

c. West Germanic, with a number of subdivisions: Old Saxon or Old Low German, Dutch, Flemish, spoken in parts of Belgium, Frisian, now spoken on a few small islands of the North Sea only, and English, all of which constitute the Low German group. What we ordinarily call German is High German.

8. Balto-Slavic, comprising Baltic and Slavic. To Baltic belong Old Prussian, Lithuanian, and Lettish. Old Prussian was once the language of the Prussian province West- and East-Prussia, where it was supplanted by German. The Lithuanian territory is partly in this Prussian province, but chiefly in the adjoining Russian district. Lettish is altogether on Russian territory. The chief Slavic or Slavonic languages are Old Bulgarian, also called Church or Ecclesiastical Slavonic, Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servian, and Bulgarian.

§ 20. Table of the Indo-Germanic Languages. A popular way of representing the membership of the Indo-Germanic family of languages is in the form of a genealogical tree. But this may easily give rise to wrong notions of chronology. The following table is quite as clear:—

The Indo-Germanic Family

I. INDO-IRANIAN.

1. *Indian.**a.* Vedic and Sanskrit.*b.* Prakrit.*c.* Modern Indian.2. *Iranian.**a.* Old Persian.*b.* Zend or Old Bactrian.

II. ARMENIAN.

III. GREEK.

1. *Ionic* and *Attic*.2. *Doric*.3. *Aeolic*.

IV. ALBANIAN.

V. ITALIC.

1. *Oscan*.2. *Umbrian*.3. *Latin*.

Descendants: Romance Languages.

a. Italian.*b.* Spanish.*c.* Portuguese.*d.* Provençal.*e.* French.*f.* Roumanian.

VI. CELTIC.

1. *Bretonic* or *Cymric*.*a.* Welsh.*b.* Cornish.*c.* Breton.

2. *Gaelic* or *Goidelic*.

a. Irish.

b. Manx.

c. Gaelic or Scotch.

VII. GERMANIC.

1. *East Germanic* or *Gothic*.2. *North Germanic* or *Scandinavian*.

a. Swedish.

b. Danish.

c. Norwegian.

d. Icelandic.

3. *West Germanic*.

a. Low German Group.

a. Dutch.

 β . Flemish. γ . Old Saxon or Low German. δ . Frisian. ϵ . English.

b. High German.

VIII. BALTO-SLAVIC.

1. *Baltic*.

a. Old Prussian.

b. Lithuanian.

c. Lettish.

2. *Slavic*.

a. Old Bulgarian or Church Slavic.

b. Russian.

 γ . Polish.

d. Bohemian or Czechish.

e. Servian.

f. Bulgarian.

§ 21. Definitions of Indo-Germanic, Germanic, etc.

After the preceding statements what is meant by Indo-Germanic, Germanic, and other terms is probably plain. Indo-Germanic we call the hypothetical, practically homogeneous people and their language from which the various Indo-Germanic families branched off. Indo-Germanic means sometimes also the aggregate of these families. The beginnings of dialects must have existed in the Indo-Germanic mother speech, much the same as beginnings of dialects exist in American English, though our speech is for all practical purposes still a unit, and it will altogether depend on circumstances whether in future centuries it will continue to be a unit or split up into various languages.

Similarly the Germanic language and people are mere hypotheses, though, as in case of the Indo-Germanic, hypotheses demanded by every reason. It is the language and the people, independent, co-ordinate with other Indo-Germanic families and languages, but practically a unit, from which the various branches, East, West, and North Germanic, developed. And these are, similarly, necessary hypotheses.

German grammarians often speak of *Urgermanisch*, or *Urindogermanisch*, or *Urwestgermanisch*, etc., terms commonly rendered in English treatises by *Pregermanic*, etc. The prefix indicates an early stage of the respective language in which the characteristic peculiarities are manifest, but in which as yet no signs of new dialects appear. Thus *Pregermanic* means Germanic at the stage in which •East, West, and North Germanic are mere possibilities.

§ 22. The Home of the Indo-Germans.

Scholars have

not yet succeeded in definitely locating the home of the Indo-Germanic mother people, that is, the place in which they were settled immediately before the ultimate separation started in. The question has been much and ardently discussed. It used to be considered safe to locate their home in the highlands of central Asia; today scholars positively reject this view and incline to the opinion that it was in Europe. Many think, with O. Schrader, that they lived in southern Russia. The question will probably never be conclusively settled. Anthropologically it seems to be established that Indo-Germans were at home in Europe in the neolithic age, and it is possible that they were there even in the paleolithic period. And as far as they can be traced back they do not represent a pure type physically. The Indo-Germanic mother people, though speaking an essentially uniform language, were no more an ethnic unit than any one of the modern European nations, every one of which shows plain traces of racial mixture.

CHAPTER II

GERMAN PHONOLOGY

§ 23. **Definitions of Phonology, Phonetics.** Any scientific study of language necessarily leads to an analysis and study of sounds, of their nature and development. The classification of the sounds of a language, their historical development, their mutual influence one upon the other, we call the Phonology of a language; German grammarians use the term 'Lautlehre.'

The science concerned with the manner in which speech sounds are produced and varied we call Phonetics. A sharp line between phonology and phonetics cannot be drawn. Phonetics is a study auxiliary to that of grammar. Without some knowledge of it a correct understanding of the phonology of a language is impossible. It has, besides, a great practical value for the acquisition and teaching of a correct pronunciation of foreign languages.

A. THE ORGANS OF SPEECH AND THEIR USE

1. *The Organs of Speech*

§ 24. **Vocal Organs Like an Organ Pipe.** The organs of speech may be roughly compared to an organ pipe. The respiratory organs, that is, the lungs together with various sets of muscles causing the expansion and con-

traction of the lungs in inhaling and exhaling, are the bellows. The trachea or windpipe corresponds to the lower end of the organ pipe; the larynx with the vocal chords, to the part of the organ pipe with the reed. The pharynx, that is, the section between the mouth passage and the larynx, together with the cavity of the mouth and the nasal cavity correspond to the upper part of the organ pipe and, like it, form a resonance chamber. At the same time, the mouth passage serves other purposes, as we shall see.

§ 25. **The Larynx.** The larynx may be called the most essential organ for the production of vocal sounds. It consists, in the main, of two sets of cartilage, the thyroid cartilage (Schildknorpel) felt in front of the throat as the Adam's apple, and the cricoid cartilage (Ringknorpel) below it. On the upper, rear boarder of the cricoid cartilage are inserted the two arytenoid cartilages. They have a true ball and socket joint and several small muscles which contract and relax with great exactness and entirely control the tension and relaxation of the vocal chords, thus playing a most important part in the production of the voice.

§ 26. **The Vocal Chords.** Within the larynx, stretched across it from the thyroid cartilage (the Adam's apple) in front to the movable arytenoid cartilages behind, are two sets of membranes called the vocal chords, one set above the other. The upper set, not being essential to the formation of vocal sounds, we need not consider; they are called false vocal chords. But below them, one on each side, are the true vocal chords, also extending from the front to the rear of the larynx. They are com-

posed of a highly elastic, strong tissue and are covered with a thin, tightly fitting layer of mucous membrane. Their edges are smooth and sharply defined, and when they meet, as they do in the formation of sounds, they exactly fit each other. The term 'chords' must not be interpreted as meaning bands. The vocal chords are membranes which, when in relaxation, shrink along the sides of the larynx, to which they are attached; and when in tension they close the passage through the larynx except for a more or less narrow slit, called the glottis.

The Epiglottis. Above the larynx is a soft, movable body called the epiglottis, fitting closely into the opening of the larynx and closing it during the act of swallowing, thus preventing food and drink from entering into the respiratory organs.

§ 27. **The Cavity of the Mouth.** 'Ansatzrohr,' Delta. The passages through which the breath passes from the glottis, that is, the pharynx, and the cavity of the mouth, actually constitute a variable resonance chamber, together called 'Ansatzrohr' by German phoneticians. This is a musical term, ordinarily used to designate variable resonance chambers in wind instruments, and hence quite aptly used in its phonetic application. The parts so designated have no corresponding English term. Hempl (*German Orthography and Phonology*) suggests for it the name 'Delta,' which would rather hint at the form than at the function of these parts.

The cavity of the mouth is the most complicated and variable of the three. Its form is changed not only by the movements of the lower jaw, but also by different positions of the lips, the tongue, and the soft palate.

The form required for any sound is usually secured by a sort of accommodation between the movements of the jaw and those of the other parts mentioned. Slight changes are usually accomplished without moving the jaw at all.

In the mouth we have to distinguish the following parts: (1) the hard palate, the front part of the roof of the mouth (adjective from it 'palatal'); (2) back of it the soft palate or velum (adjective from it 'velar' or also 'guttural'); (3) the uvula, really a continuation of the soft palate (adjective from it 'uvular'); (4) the alveoli or alveoles, the hard ridges formed by the sockets of the teeth (only the upper ridge is of any importance; corresponding adjective 'alveolar'); (5) the upper and lower rows of teeth (corresponding adjective 'dental'); (6) the two lips (adjective 'labial'); (7) the tongue (adjective 'lingual'). Of the tongue, again, several parts are distinguished: the back (adjective 'dorsal'); the point or tip (adjective 'coronal'); and the sides (adjective 'lateral').

§ 28. **The Nasal Cavity.** The nasal cavity, terminating in the two nasal openings, is a good-sized, almost pear-shaped chamber, extending over the whole mouth and connected with the air passages, of which it is really the beginning. It is separated from the mouth by the soft and the hard palates. By changing the position of the soft palate, we can at will establish or break the communication between the nasal cavity and the cavity of the mouth or the pharynx.

2. *Use of the Organs of Speech*

§ 29. **Articulation.** Articulation we call those operations of the vocal organs — particularly of the mouth with its various members — which are necessary in order that the breath current, coming from the lungs with whatever force may be desired, may produce the contemplated sounds. Articulation takes place in the larynx or in the mouth, or in both simultaneously.

§ 30. **Basis of Articulation.** The members of any language or dialect group, in pronouncing their speech sounds, give to their speech organs an adjustment which is characteristic of their particular dialect and which is therefore called the basis of articulation for that dialect. This basis of articulation gives some common quality to all the sounds of a language, and its acquisition is indispensable for any idiomatic pronunciation. Persons really at home in two or more languages, say English and German, will usually feel a certain slight shock if, while speaking English, they are suddenly called upon to pronounce an isolated German word or a German phrase, and quite frequently, under such circumstances, the German phrase will have a slight English tinge, which means that the bases of articulation were not properly exchanged. And yet the variations of the bases of articulation of different languages is usually so slight that it is unwise to attempt any description of them.

It can hardly be asserted that even literary German spoken in various parts of Germany is uniform in this respect. Everywhere the dialect influence is felt. Some

general differences between English and German speaking people were noticed in § 11.

§ 31. Activity in the Larynx. A number of sounds are produced in the larynx, namely all vocal or sonorous sounds. They are made by stretching the vocal chords and setting them into vibration by the escaping breath. The greater the tension of the chords, the higher the pitch. In the production of the so-called voiceless consonants, *h* excepted, the vocal chords are inactive. *h* is produced by the friction of the breath against the vocal chords stretched so as to be tolerably close together. Consonants in the production of which the vocal chords vibrate are called voiced; the others are voiceless.

In whispering, the vocal chords are tightly pressed together, except for a slight three-cornered opening to the rear through which the breath escapes.

A slight explosive sound, a certain click, is produced by the vocal chords when they are altogether tightly closed and suddenly allowed to open slightly. It is heard in most parts of Germany before all initial stressed vowels, most plainly in whispering. It is not commonly heard in English.

§ 32. Activity in the Mouth and the Nasal Parts, or Manner of Articulation, and Nasalization. 1. In speaking, the mouth may, in general, hold one of three positions.

a. It is open, so that the sound-producing breath is not really obstructed in the mouth. This is the case when we pronounce any of the vowels. Vowel sounds are produced by the vibration of the vocal chords, but modified by the variation of the resonance chamber

formed in the mouth. The difference in the sound of the various vowels, their quality, is due almost altogether to the difference in the shape of the resonance chamber formed by the mouth and the nose.

b. The mouth is, in some way or other, nearly closed, so that the breath passing through it produces a rasping sound, as of friction, such as we hear in spirants (*s, f, v, th*, German *ch* and others). These sounds are also called fricatives. The approximation of the parts of the mouth causing the friction may be brought about either by raising the tongue so as to leave but a slight opening between it and the roof of the mouth or the teeth or the alveoli, *s, ch*; or it may be accomplished by nearly closing the lips, as in pronouncing *f* in *empfangen*; or finally by raising the lower lip to the upper teeth, as in the ordinary *f*. Other ways are possible, but not in use.

c. The passage of the mouth may be tightly closed so as to prevent the passing of the breath through it. The air being forced from the lungs is compressed in the mouth until the closure is suddenly broken and a slight explosion takes place. According as the closure was produced in one part of the mouth or another, we recognize in the resulting explosion the various stop consonants (*p, t, k, b, d, g*) or explosives.

2. Some sounds are produced by a combination of the two last named positions. Thus the English *th*-sound consists of an explosion preceded by friction. The tip-tongue *r*, if well trilled, is a rapid succession of small stops.

3. The nasals, *m, n, ng* (as in *doing*), are closely related to the vowels; only the breath, after causing the vocal

chords to vibrate, passes through the nose instead of the mouth. The *r* as commonly heard in our English and colloquially in some parts of North Germany, not being trilled, is essentially also a vowel.

4. Quite frequently the velum or soft palate does not entirely close the nasal passage, not only in the production of the real nasals, but also in other sounds, particularly if they are in the neighborhood of nasals. The result is that they then assume a nasal quality. In general, German is freer from it than English, particularly the English spoken in the Middle West of the United States.

§ 33. **Place of Articulation.** Again generally speaking, we have to distinguish five places at which the mouth passage is closed or approximately closed in the production or articulation of sounds.

1. The back part of the tongue is raised and approaches the soft palate and, if drawn farther back, the uvula. Sounds produced with the tongue in this position are called gutturals or velars. Such are *k* in *Kuh*, or *ch* in *Buch*.

2. The front part of the tongue, usually not quite the tip, approaches or touches the alveoli or the back of the upper teeth. Sounds produced with the tongue in this position are called dentals. The tip of the tongue may, however, also be pushed between the two rows of teeth, as is done sometimes in the articulation of English *th*. To be exact we should then speak of interdentalals.

3. But also the middle part of the tongue may approach the hard palate, and sounds thus produced are palatalals, such as *k* in *key*, or *ch* in *ich*.

4. The lips may approach each other and the resulting sounds are called labials or bilabials. Such are *m*, *b*, *p*.

5. The lower lip may approach the upper teeth, as in German and English *f* or *v*. Such sounds are labio-dentals.

§ 34. **Variations.** It is hardly necessary to say that slight variations constantly take place both in the position of the vocal organs and in their use in producing the respective sounds in different associations and under different circumstances. Compare, as an example, the position of the lips in pronouncing the *t* in German *tun* and *Tann*, the *k* in *Kinn* and *kühn*. Again, all the organs may be more or less tense. Consonants produced with the organs tense are called fortes, the others lenes.

§ 35. **Recapitulation.** The physical elements of speech are respiration or, for our purposes, expiration, obstruction of the breath in some way or other, and resonance.

Expiration varies in its intensity and duration, varying the sounds accordingly as to loudness and length.

The obstruction of the breath current produces sounds, and there is no speech sound without such obstruction in some place or other. Speech sounds vary according to the place where, and the manner in which the obstruction occurs. This may be in the larynx, almost exclusively by the vocal chords. Sounds thus produced are voiced. If the obstruction is produced by the vocal chords only, the resulting sounds are sonants, i.e., not counting *h*, the vowels and *m*, *n*, *ng*, *l*, and *r*. If at the same time an obstruction, either complete or partial, takes place in some part of the mouth, voiced consonants result.

With increased energy of expiration we have also, usually, increased intensity of obstruction.

B. THE SPEECH SOUNDS

§ 36. **As to the Classification of Speech Sounds.** The speech sounds have been classified, in a general way, largely from two points of view: either according to the factors involved in their production, that is, genetically; or according to the effect produced on the hearer, that is, acoustically. Naturally, the acoustic classification was the older and is still reflected in many of our terms. For scientific purposes the genetic classification is the more valuable, particularly inasmuch as the older acoustic classes can invariably be accounted for by certain factors involved in production; or, in other words, similarity in sound always involves similarity in production.

But even on genetic principles the speech sounds may be, and are, arranged into various groups, because any given sound has characteristics relating it to many others. Details must be left to special treatises on phonetics. For our purposes the mere elements of our subject must suffice.

§ 37. **General Division.** A popular classification of speech sounds as vowels and consonants is of very ancient origin. It was made by Greek grammarians, who recognized that in syllables in which a vowel is present — which meant all syllables in their language — the vowel is the most sonorous sound, the sonant, in comparison with which all other sounds are con-sonants. But this criterion does not hold in many modern languages, among

them German and English. Though we write a vowel in practically every syllable, it is in very many of them not pronounced. This is the case in the common pronunciation of the final syllables of such words as *landen*, *Helfer*, *Bibel*, etc. And so the division of the sounds into vowels and consonants seems somewhat arbitrary.

We have noted that in the production of speech sounds the vocal chords may or may not be put into operation. Accordingly all sounds can be divided into two groups, voiced and voiceless. But we found also that in the case of some sounds the vocal chords only are active, whereas in the case of all voiced stop consonants and spirants an additional noise is produced in the mouth. Voice sounds must therefore be divided into pure voice sounds, also called sonants or sonorous sounds, and voiced consonants; the third group would be constituted of voiceless consonants.

We have then the following classification:

1. *Sonorous Sounds* or *Pure Voice Sounds*.

a. Vowels.

b. Nasals (*m*, *n*, *ng*).

c. Liquids (*l*, *r*).

2. *Consonants*.

a. Voiced.

b. Voiceless.

3. *h*.

§ 38. **Necessary Explanation.** The pure voice sounds or sonants form a class larger than that of our common vowels. To them belong also *m*, *n*, *ng*, and *l*, *r*. They are all produced by the vibration of the vocal chords only, and depend for their difference almost altogether upon

the different configuration of the mouth and nasal cavity constituting the resonance chamber.

In case of the normal, ordinary German vowels and *l* and *r* the oral cavity, with its various modifications, serves as a resonance chamber; in case of *m*, *n*, and *ng*, also the nasal cavity. But transitional or mixed vowels are by no means unheard of, because not infrequently in the production of usually purely oral sounds the passage to the nasal cavity is not completely closed, and the respective sounds have some nasal affection.

1. *The Vowels*

§ 39. **Dorsal, Rounded, Unrounded Vowels.** Vowels are sonorous sounds made with open mouth. In their production a particular part of the back, i.e., the upper flat surface, of the tongue is slightly curved and raised toward the palate; in some cases it is at the same time pushed forward so as to approach more nearly the hard part, in others drawn back toward the soft palate. The vowels are, accordingly, said to have dorsal articulation. This and the openness of the mouth distinguish them from the liquids and nasals.

Among themselves the vowels are again distinguished according to the particular position occupied by the lips in their production. With some the lips are usually, but not necessarily, protruded and drawn together so as to form a small round or somewhat oval opening. Owing to this rounding of the lips, the particular vowels (*o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*) are called rounded vowels. With others the particular position of the lips seems less characteristic and less essential, and no attention is paid to it.

§ 40. **Front, Mixed, Back Vowels.** The vowels are further distinguished according to the relative position and shape of the tongue. If the tongue is raised toward the hard palate we call them front or palatal vowels. If the articulation takes place with the rear part of the tongue toward the soft palate, we speak of back or guttural vowels. Commonly the terms 'palatal' and 'guttural' are reserved for the distinction of consonants, 'front' and 'back' for the vowels. Most of our common vowels are either front or back vowels. There are, however, also vowel sounds in which the middle surface of the tongue articulates. This is the case in the standard German unaccented *e* in final syllables, or, e.g., in our common English *her*, *err*. Such vowels are called mixed vowels.

§ 41. **High, Low, Mid Vowels.** As the tongue can be drawn back and pushed forward in the mouth so it can also be raised and lowered, and according as it holds a comparatively high, middle, or low position, the resulting vowels are called high, mid, or low.

§ 42. **Open, Close Vowels.** It must be remembered in making any classification of, or assigning any values to these sounds that the character of each one differs considerably in different combinations and also in similar combinations in different words; compare the German noun *Gebét* with the imperative of *geben*: *gebet*. In particular, we have to distinguish between open and close vowels. They are so called because in the production of vowels sometimes the tongue position is a trifle higher and hence the opening a little smaller than at others. In other cases a similar difference is produced through greater

or less tension of the tongue or even of the soft palate. Couplets of open and close vowels we have in the following words as commonly pronounced: *Biene: binnen, fehlt: Feld, Sohle: solle, Ruhne: Brunnen, Höhle: Hölle, fühlen: füllen*. Vowels commonly called short in German are almost invariably open rather than short; those commonly said to be long would in almost every case better be called close. The difference between the so-called long and short vowels in German is less one of quantity than of quality.

§ 43. **Table of Vowels.** According to the criteria mentioned in sections 39-41 the vowels commonly found in German may be roughly arranged in the following table: —

	FRONT		MIXED		BACK	
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
High	i	ü	—	—	—	u
Mid	e	ö	e as in <i>Vater</i>	—	—	o
Low	—	—	ä as in Engl. <i>back</i>	—	a	a as in Engl. <i>all</i>

§ 44. **Relation of the Vowels to Each Other.** In pronouncing the vowels in the series *i, e, ä* (with the tongue lower and drawn back farther than in *e*, much as *a* in English *back*), *a, o, u* (as *a* in English *fall*), *o, u*, we can plainly observe a regular gradation in the movements of the tongue and the lips. Particularly *e* and *ä* stand midway

between *i* and *a*. In much the same way *ö* combines the lip position of *o* with the tongue position of *e*; *ü* the lip position of *u* with the tongue position of *i*.

§ 45. **Diphthongs.** A diphthong arises if in the production of a vocalic sound the position or shape of the mouth is in any way changed so as to occasion an appreciable difference in the sound. (Of a slightly different nature is the duality of a vowel produced by varying stress or pitch. Usually we do not include such sounds under the term diphthong.) A diphthong in which the first element is more sonorous (or more heavily stressed) than the second, we call a falling diphthong. All the sound combinations commonly known as diphthongs belong to this class. But there are also vowel combinations in which the second part is the more prominent. Such we call rising diphthongs. An example we have in German *ja*, which, as commonly pronounced, is little else than *i* + *a*.

§ 46. **The Nasals.** In the pronunciation of the vowels as commonly spoken the resonance chamber formed by the mouth has various shapes. The vowels are all oral sounds. In producing nasals, the resonance chamber is constituted of the nasal cavity and a part of the mouth, the latter varying with the different nasals. The opening is through the nose. By lowering the velum the passage to the nose is opened, while at some place or other, essential for the particular sound, the passage through the mouth is firmly closed. If the mouth closure is accomplished with the lips, *m* is the result; if with the front part of the tongue and the teeth or alveoli, we have *n*; and if the back of the tongue is drawn to the hard or

soft palate in the places where we articulate guttural or palatal *k* (*Sack: dick*), the *ng* as heard in *hangen* and *hingen* is the result.

§ 47. **Liquids: r.** The vowels and nasals are articulated with the back of the tongue, in so far as the tongue is active. They have dorsal articulation, are dorsal sounds. The liquids, *l* and *r*, are articulated with the edge of the tongue, *l* with one or both sides, *r* with the tip: *l* is said to be lateral, *r* coronal.

Another *r*, the uvular or guttural *r*, has encroached upon the regular historical tip-tongue *r*, which is decidedly trilled in careful pronunciation. What the final outcome may be no one can at present predict with any assurance. It may well be that the old *r* is doomed; but up to the present the tip-tongue *r* is regarded as the standard, and it being for Americans by far the easier sound to acquire there is no reason whatever to substitute the uvular *r* for it.

The chief difference in the production of the common English *r* and that of standard German is in the position of the tongue and the lips. In English the tip of the tongue is raised and slightly drawn back; in German it is pushed forward, almost as if the speaker were about to pronounce a *d*. Usually one side of the tongue touches the back teeth, and the tip does not quite touch the alveoles, or if it does, the contact is very slight. In English, besides, the lips are usually rounded in pronouncing *r*, in German this is done only before rounded vowels.

§ 48. **Liquids: l.** In producing *l* the tip of the tongue touches the alveoles and sometimes probably the teeth.

In the neighborhood of front vowels and other front sounds, such as *i*, *ü*, *t*, *n*, and others (*helf*, *Hülfe*, *Spätling*) the tip is pushed farther forward than in the neighborhood of sounds articulated farther back: *Rücklage*, *Last*, *Lust*. Usually one side of the tongue is inactive.

In the English *l*, as in *r*, the tip of the tongue is raised and slightly drawn back, as compared with the German *l*. Besides, the English *l* is much longer than the German.

2. The Consonants

§ 49. **General Remarks.** The consonants, in German more appropriately called 'Geräuschlaute' ('Noise-Sounds'), differ from the vowels and sonorous sounds in either being accompanied by, or consisting of, a noise produced by the breath through some obstruction in the mouth. This obstruction may be either complete or but partial, and the consonants are accordingly divided into two large classes: stop consonants, and spirants.

§ 50. **Stop Consonants or Explosives.** If the breath current is obstructed, stopped completely, and suddenly released, causing a slight explosion, we speak of stop consonants or explosives. Stop consonants in English and German are *p*, *b*; *t*, *d*; *k*, *g* (as in *go*). Three characteristic stages or distinct activities may be distinguished in the production of all stop consonants. The first is the formation of the closure; the second, the maintenance of the closure while the breath current, driven continuously from the lungs, is compressed in the mouth; and the third, the release of the breath current and the consequent explosion. The different stages are not of equal importance for all positions of the consonant. For the

sound *p* in the word *knap**p*, as it appears in the following sentence, the first activity is of prime importance: *Er war knap**p* nach Hause gekommen; whereas in the case of the same sound initially, as in *Pein*, the explosion, or the third activity, is the more prominent. To be exact, it would therefore be better to call these sounds stop consonants.

§ 51. **Place of Articulation.** The stop consonants are divided into classes according to the place where they are articulated. We distinguish, roughly, three classes: labials, *p, b*; dentals, *t, d*; and gutturals, *k, g*. But, according to the neighboring sounds, the place of articulation of the gutturals particularly, of the dentals to a less degree, may vary considerably, as can be readily noticed in pronouncing the following sound combinations, especially if they are whispered: *Kind, Kehle, kann, Kohl, Kuh*. Notice also how, involuntarily, even in the pronunciation of the *k*, the lips in each case assume, approximately at least, the position of the following or of the preceding vowel.

§ 52. **Aspiration.** Particularly before stressed vowels, and also in final positions after stressed vowels, voiceless stops are in many localities in Germany, regularly in standard German (less often in common English), followed by an audible breath sound after the explosion, akin to an *h*, but produced in the same place of the mouth with the stop, not in the glottis, as *h*. This breath sound is called aspiration.

§ 53. **Voiced and Voiceless Consonants.** In the production of consonants the vocal chords may either be made to vibrate or may be inactive, and the consonants are accordingly either voiced or voiceless. The voiced are *b, d, g*, and the corresponding spirants: Engl. *v*, ap-

proximately; *th* as in *thine*, *g* as in *gehen* in northwest Germany.

§ 54. **Fortis and Lenis.** Depending upon the energy with which the breath is forced from the lungs and upon the corresponding degree of tension with which the closure is made in the mouth, we distinguish, roughly, two classes of consonants. A consonant is said to be a fortis if the energy of expiration and the tension of the oral parts are great, and a lenis if they are not so. Voiced consonants in German and English are lenes.

§ 55. **Fricatives or Spirants.** The consonants in whose production the expiration is but partially obstructed in the mouth we call fricatives or spirants. Statements made in the last few paragraphs in connection with the stop consonants regarding their place of articulation, and regarding the absence or presence of voice and the greater or less energy in their production, are all equally applicable to the spirants.

§ 56. **Table of Consonants.** Not considering the distinction as to fortis and lenis, nor aspiration, the German consonants may accordingly be tabulated in the following manner:

	STOP CONSONANTS		SPIRANTS	
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced
Labials	p	b	f	w
Dentals	t	d	(sch) s (<i>Glas</i>)	s (<i>sehen</i>)
Gutturals	k	g (<i>gehen</i>)	ch	g (<i>Könige</i> , not in <i>gehen</i>)

The arrangement is quite arbitrary and might have been made in a variety of ways in accordance with various points of view. The first horizontal row is made up of labials, the second of dentals, the third of gutturals. In the first double vertical column are stop consonants, voiceless and voiced; in the second spirants, voiceless and voiced.

§ 57. **Affricates.** The German, and other languages, have certain combinations of consonants which form closer unions, apparently, than two consonants do ordinarily. They consist of some voiceless stop consonant intimately connected with a following spirant articulated in the same or nearly the same place as the stop. They are called affricates. Affricates should not be confused with fricatives or spirants. In German we have a dental and a labial affricate: *z* = *ts*, and *pf*. A corresponding guttural affricate, *kch*, probably existed at some time in the history of the German language, but is now confined to some dialects of the extreme southwest.

C. SOME IMPORTANT STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN SOUNDS

I. The Consonants

§ 58. **Chief Characteristics of the Germanic Language.** Before entering upon a discussion of the development of German sounds let us cast a glance at the chief characteristics of the Germanic language. We remember that, historically, we cannot prove the existence of a Germanic language, nor of an Indo-Germanic mother tongue. From the common characteristics of a group of languages we conclude that these languages must be related, must

have diverged from a common mother tongue. And from the essentially unanimous testimony of the descendants we judge the character of their hypothetical ancestor. Thus, from a number of phenomena common to all or most of the Germanic languages, but not found in the other members of the Indo-Germanic group, we draw conclusions as to some of the essentials of the Germanic mother tongue. The most prominent among them are the following:—

1. The Germanic or First Sound Shift, also known as Grimm's Law, and, in connection with this, a modification known as Verner's Law.

2. Recessive, fixed accent; i.e., placing of the main stress upon the root syllable of a word and maintaining it there in all inflectional forms.

3. The consequent dropping of final inflectional syllables and the gradual weakening of the vowels in syllables with secondary stress.

4. Development of the twofold declension of the adjective, strong and weak, neither of which is originally found in Indo-Germanic.

5. Spreading of the weak or *n*-declension of nouns.

6. Development of the weak preterite in the conjugation of verbs.

All of these phenomena can be observed in the older stages of the English language as well as in German. An understanding of at least some of them is quite desirable. Still other phenomena, which it is equally necessary to consider, are common to all Indo-Germanic languages; others are specifically German or High German (not Germanic).

1. *The Germanic or First Sound Shift or Grimm's Law*

§ 59. **General Nature of the Shift.** At the outset it is well to recall that by "shifting of sounds" we do not understand any arbitrary or sudden substitution of one sound for another. If all the intermediate stages were accessible, the difference between any two of them would be almost imperceptible. Unfortunately, we have only the two extremes: The Indo-Germanic stage, represented in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, — to mention only the better known languages — in which no perceptible change of the sounds under consideration had taken place; and the Germanic stage, by induction restored from the various Germanic dialects, in which the change was an accomplished fact. — What caused this particular change is no more explained than the causes for any other phonetic change in language. We can at best speculate about the question.

When the history of the Germanic languages begins the sound shift had been made, and, as far as we are here directly concerned with it, we might take it for granted, leaving the shift itself to the consideration of the comparative philologist. But we should miss a splendid opportunity for seeing our sound law in actual operation. A few related forms from a number of languages will also be interesting as a tangible evidence of the relationship referred to before. The shift has to do with the Idg. stop consonants.

In German and English we have, or, at any rate, ordinarily distinguish, six stop consonants, three voiceless, *p, t, k*, and three voiced, *b, d, g*. In Indo-Germanic there were distinguished six more, according to the absence or

presence of aspiration. The voiceless aspirated stops are represented by *ph*, *th*, *kh*, as over against the unaspirated *p*, *t*, *k*; similarly the voiced aspirated stops by *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, as over against the unaspirated *b*, *d*, *g*, (cp. § 52).

The unaspirated and the aspirated voiceless stops, *p*, *t*, *k* and *ph*, *th*, *kh*, were confused in Idg. times; at any rate they develop in the same way in the Germanic as in a number of other Idg. languages. If we may draw a parallel to the corresponding development of the voiced aspirated stop consonants, it seems probable, as it does also from other indications, that the unaspirated voiceless stops (*p*, *t*, *k*) became aspirated, and together with the older aspirated stops (*ph*, *th*, *kh*) they developed in Germanic into the corresponding homorganous¹ voiceless spirants *f*, *p* (called 'thorn' = English *th* in *thin*) and *χ* (called as the Greek character 'chi' = German *ch*).

Similarly the aspirated voiced stop consonants *bh*, *dh*, *gh* developed into the corresponding homorganous voiced spirants *ḃ* (= nearly English *v*, but bilabial at first and less fortis [§ 54]), *ḥ* (= *th* in *thine*), and *g* (= *g* in *Könige*, i.e., a guttural voiced spirant, not a stop at first).

The unaspirated voiced stops, however, *b*, *d*, *g*, lost their voice and developed into the corresponding homorganous voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*.

¹ Homorganous, i.e., the new consonants, *f*, *p*, *χ*, remain each in the same category with its predecessor, each articulated in the same place with it. The aspirate *ph* and the resulting *f* are both labials (*f* later becoming labio-dental); the aspirate *th* and the resulting *p* are both dentals; and *kh* and *χ* are both gutturals. The place of articulation remains the same, only the manner of articulation is changed (cp. §§ 32 and 33), in which change the aspirated stop might phonetically well be considered an intermediate stage between the unaspirated stop and the spirant.

These new consonants were later developed more or less independently in the various Germanic dialects.

§ 60. **Table of Sounds Corresponding in Various Languages.** The original Idg. stop consonants underwent some changes in Greek and Latin and Sanskrit also. The Sanskrit preserves most nearly the original stage. In the table on page 62 finer details are not taken into account, being of but slight importance for us.

These changes will be exemplified in the following paragraphs.

§ 61. Idg. *bh, dh, gh* > Germanic *b, d, g*, High German *b, t, g*. See table on page 63.

§ 62. Idg. *p, t, k* and *ph, th, kh* > Germanic *f, þ, χ*, High German *f, d, h* or *ch* (cp. § 65). See table on page 64.

§ 63. Idg. *b, d, g* > Germanic *p, t, k*, High German *pf, ff, f*; *z, ss, tz*; *k, ch, ck*. See table on page 65.

§ 64. **Chronology of these Changes.** On the relative chronology of these changes scholars are not agreed, and if we bear in mind that all the various processes were very gradual it seems quite possible that many if not all of them went on simultaneously. Positive knowledge is here also hard to get, if not impossible. — The *absolute* chronology depends altogether upon the accuracy with which Greek and Latin authors gave in their language a few proper names of their Germanic neighbors, and the correctness of the dates for various movements of Germanic tribes, of which we have no very authentic accounts. By acute reasoning scholars have made it probable, however, that the Germanic sound shift took place between the years 400 and 100 B.C.

TABLE OF SOUNDS TO § 60

Idg.	Greek	Latin	Germanic	Gothic	High German	Low German	English
bh	ϕ (= ph)	f (b betw. vowels)	$\mathfrak{b}$ (b init. and after nasal)	$\mathfrak{b}$ betw. vowels (b init. and after conson.)	b	b (v betw. vowels)	b (init. and after nas.) v (betw. sonants)
dh	θ (= th)	f (d betw. vowels)	$\mathfrak{d}$ (d init. and after conson.)	$\mathfrak{d}$ betw. vowels (d init. and after conson.)	t (d after n)	d	d
gh	χ (= ch)	h	$\mathfrak{g}$	$\mathfrak{g}$ (g?)	g	$\mathfrak{g}$	g
b	β (= b)	b	p	p	pf ff f	p	p
d	δ (= d)	d	t	t	z ss ß tz	t	t
g	γ (= g)	g	k	k	k ch ck	k	k (ck)
p and ph	π (= p) (ϕ)	p	f (Verner's Law $\mathfrak{b}$)	f (Verner's Law $\mathfrak{b}$ b)	f (Verner's Law $\mathfrak{b}$)	f (v)	f (v between sonants)
t and th	τ (= t) — θ (th)	t	$\mathfrak{p}$ (Verner's Law $\mathfrak{d}$)	$\mathfrak{p}$ ($\mathfrak{d}$ d Verner's Law)	d (t Verner's Law)	d	th (bet. voiced vowels)
k and kh	κ (= c) (χ)	c	χ (Verner's Law $\mathfrak{g}$)	h (= $\frac{h}{x}$ g Verner's Law)	h ch ($\mathfrak{g}$ Verner's Law)	h ch ($\mathfrak{g}$ Verner's Law and betw. vowels)	h

TABLE TO § 61

Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic	English	Low German	High German
1 { bhārāmi bhrátar- (older *ni-dhaghós) ni-dāghas	φέρω φράτωρ	fero frater	baira broþar	bear brother	geborn { brōr broder	gebären Bruder
2 { mādhyas vāhati 3 { h sās	θύρα μέρος (older *μεθ'ιοσ) χῆν	fores medius veho hostis (h)anser	dags daur midjis ga-wigan gasts * gans	day door mid O.E. wegan guest goose	dag dör midden bewegen gast gòs	Tag Tür, Tor Mitte bewegen Gast Gans

NOTE: The Low German words are given in the form common in Ostfriesland.

TABLE TO § 62

Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic	English	Low German	High German
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{saptá} \\ \text{pitár-} \\ \text{nápāt-} \end{array} \right\}_1$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἐπτά} \\ \text{πατήρ} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{septem} \\ \text{pater} \\ \text{nepos} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sibun} \\ \text{faðar} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seven} \\ \text{father} \\ \text{O.E. nefa} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{söven} \\ \text{söben} \\ \text{fäder} \\ \text{neffe} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sieben} \\ \text{Vater} \\ \text{Neffe} \end{array} \right.$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vártatī} \\ \text{tuam} \\ \text{trítīyas} \\ \text{trayas} \\ \text{paśu} \end{array} \right\}_2$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{τὸ} \\ \text{τρῆς} \\ \text{πέκος} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{verto} \\ \text{tu} \\ \text{trēs} \\ \text{pecus} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wairpan} \\ \text{þu} \\ \text{þridja} \\ \text{þreis} \\ \text{faihu} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{O.E. weorðan} \\ \text{thou} \\ \text{third} \\ \text{three} \\ \text{fee (O.E. feoh)} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{older *warden} \\ \text{wārn} \\ \text{du} \\ \text{dard} \\ \text{drē} \\ \text{fee} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{werden} \\ \text{du} \\ \text{dritt-} \\ \text{dre} \\ \text{Vieh („Viecher“)} \\ \text{Zähre} \end{array} \right.$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aśru} < *daśru \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{δάκρυ} \\ \text{κλέπτω} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{older *dacruma} \\ \text{lacruma} \\ \text{clepo} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hlifan} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tear} < *teahor \\ \text{shop-lifter} \end{array} \right.$		

TABLE TO § 63

Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic	English	Low German	High German
1 { dāmas ádmi	βαλνη κάνναβις δαμάω	cannabis domare	paída	O.E. pád hemp	pē (<*pede) hemp	Mhg. <i>pfeit</i> <i>Hanf</i>
2 { pād- sádas	ἔδομαι ποδός (Gen.) ἔδος	edo pedis sêdes	tamjan itan fotus sitjan kuni akrs juk	tame eat foot sit kin acre yoke	tāmen êten fôt sitten	<i>zähmen</i> <i>essen</i> <i>Fuß</i> <i>sitzen</i>
3 { jānas ájras yugam	γένος ἀγρός ἵγρον	genus ager jugum			acker jück	<i>Acker</i> <i>Joch</i>

§ 65. **Exceptions.** The changes known collectively as the Germanic Sound Shift conform in general to the rules stated and exemplified in the preceding paragraphs. But under certain conditions the consonants affected behave differently. Some apparent exceptions also are due to regular phonological changes in Idg. times, by which cognates had become dissimilar before the shift began.

1. *Consonants before Dentals.* In Idg. times, labial, dental, or guttural stops and aspirates, both voiced and voiceless, when standing before any dental stop or aspirate became *pt*, *kt*, and *tt* respectively, which, in turn, changed into the Germanic *ft*, *xt* (*ht*), and *ss* (or *st*). Hence we have *geben*: *Gift*; *mögen*: *Macht* and others. *tt* became *st* before *r* only, and it is possible that the *t* was inserted as a transitional sound, as it surely was in a number of cases where simple *s* and *r* came together, as Greek $\rho\epsilon\omega$ (for $\ast\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\phi}\omega$): *Strom*. In other cases it became regularly *ss*.

2. *Verner's Law, or Grammatischer Wechsel.* Another most important group of exceptions for years defied any attempt at explanation. Often in High German, for example, *b* appears where according to our rule we should expect *f*; *t* appears instead of *d*; and *g* instead of *h* or *ch*; similarly *r* is substituted for *s*. The law that governs these apparent anomalies was discovered and first explained by the Danish philologist, Karl Verner (1877). Earlier scholars were of the opinion that these apparent secondary changes had been made for the purpose of grammatical distinctions; hence the name *Grammatischer Wechsel*, which is still the more common among German scholars.

Verner's Law affects the resultants of the Idg. voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, only. It is probable that these stops were first regularly shifted to *f*, *b*, *χ* in all positions. We are led to this conclusion from the fact that, together with the successors of the Idg. *p*, *t*, *k*, also Idg. *s* is affected, and only through the regular shift to *f*, *b*, *χ* did *p*, *t*, *k* come into the same category with *s*, all of them being voiceless spirants. After this shift had been made, after the Germanic language had, therefore, started on its separate development, the resulting voiceless spirants *f*, *b*, and *χ*, together with *s* (which had passed into Germanic without any change), became voiced if, according to the Idg. system of accentuation — which must therefore have still continued in Germanic — the chief stress did not fall upon the syllable immediately preceding the spirant. Only the combinations *ft*, *fs*, *ht*, *hs* (= *cht*, *chs*), *sk*, *st*, *sp*, i.e., any combination of a spirant and a stop or of two spirants, remained unchanged by Verner's Law.¹

The discovery of Verner, aside from the support it gave to the theory of inflexibility in sound laws, incidentally throws welcome light on a number of questions. While, on the one hand, it establishes the fact that in early Germanic time the accent was, in the course of inflection or derivation, still shifting from syllable to syllable, within well regulated bounds, it suggests at the same time that

¹ In the Idg. mother language, apparently, the chief stress of a word could fall on any syllable, in the root or in a suffix, with long or short vowel, and without the limitations imposed by the number or quantity of syllables, as in Greek or Latin. After the operation of Verner's Law the chief stress in Germanic was fixed on the first syllable of a word, which was usually the root syllable. Compound verbs with unaccented prefixes did not become compounds until after the accent had been fixed on the verb.

this shifting accent must have lost some of its original power. For, as we shall see later, there should appear regularly in syllables with weak stress also a weakened vowel, and we should expect that wherever we find in operation Verner's Law, depending for its effectiveness on weak stress, we should also find a weak vowel. This is very often not the case. To maintain that the stronger vowel was restored or preserved by analogy is precarious, because it is surprising that analogy should have been so rarely able at the same time to preserve the original consonant. Probably these vowel differences, which are known as *Ablaut* or gradation, had in the development of the Idg. languages become fixed, differing not only in different languages of the group, but showing also greater or smaller variations under different conditions within the same language; so that in Greek, for example, the stress of nouns and adjectives seems pretty well to preserve the original state, while that of the verb shows very many innovations. So also in the Germanic languages, in cases in which discrepancies now appear between the vowel grade to be inferred from Verner's Law and the actual grade of the vowel found, it seems fair to assume that, since the quality of the vowel became established, a new shift of accent (by analogy or whatever other cause) occurred, which was sufficient to affect the quality of the Germanic spirant, but no longer sufficient essentially to change the quality of the vowel. We have a parallel in our *Páris*: *Parísian* and a number of other couplets. Though the accent shifts, we hear, ideally at any rate, in the first syllable of both words the vowel *a*.

Differences in the form of words arising in accordance with Verner's Law in the course of noun declension have been obliterated in all Germanic languages; by analogy, it is safe to say. But that such differences must have existed at some time we must conclude from parallel forms, some of which must go back to the original voiceless spirant, others to the resulting voiced spirant. Cp. *Hafer: Haber*.

The effects of Verner's Law can best be seen in the conjugation of the strong verb, though here also they have been constantly obscured. From Old High German and Old English many examples could be adduced, none from modern English, and few from modern German.

In a very large class of Idg. verbs, the class from which most of our strong verbs are derived (the so-called *e/o* or *i/a* class), the chief stress was regularly on the root syllable in the present and the past singular, but on an ending in the past plural and in the perfect participle. In Germanic strong verbs with an *f*, *þ*, *χ*, or *s* medially in the stem we should therefore look for the effects of Verner's Law. They should have the voiceless spirant in the present and past singular, and the voiced in the other forms.

In the Gothic verb the effects of Verner's Law have been almost altogether obliterated, with the voiceless spirants prevailing. The following table (page 70) gives the development of the Germanic voiced and voiceless spirants in Old English, Old High German, and Old Saxon or Old Low German; the table on page 71, a few representative strong verbs from these languages. (Cp. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, § 124.)

DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANIC SPIRANTS

Germanic	Old English	High German	Old Saxon
p	ð (voiced or voiceless)	d	th
ð	d	t	d
χ	h (medially lost before vowels)	h	h
g	g	g	g
f	}	f	f
þ		b	þ
s	s	s	s
z	r	r	r

§ 66. **Traces of Verner's Law in Modern German.** The effects of Verner's Law can much more readily be seen in the older stages of the Germanic languages, or rather of the West Germanic languages, because in Gothic and Old Norse they have been largely obliterated, partly by analogy, partly because of the peculiar development of the spirants. But also in Modern German traces of them are plainly visible in the conjugation of a few verbs and in the divergencies of related words. Side by side with *fahen*, *empfangen*, we have the now more regular *fangen*, *empfangen*; *ziehen*: *gezogen*, *Zügel*, *Herzog*; *Schwäher*: *Schwager*; *zehn*: (*vier*-)*zig*; *Höhe*, *hoch*: *Hügel*; *gedeihen*: *gediegen*; *zeihen*: *zeigen*; *Reihe*: *Reigen*; *Rahe* (mast): *ragen*. — *leiden*: *gelitten*; *sieden*: *gesotten*; *schneiden*: *geschnitten*, *Schnitt*, *Schnitter*; — *bedürfen*, *dürfen*: *darben*; *Hafer*: *Haber*; *schnaufen*, *schnüffeln*: *schnauben*, *schno-*

	Present	Past Singular	Past Plural	Perfect Participle
{ O.E. O.S. O.H.G.	līðan līthan līdan	láð lēth leid	lidon lidun litum	liden (to go) gilidan gilitan
{ O.E. O.S. O.H.G.	sníðan snīðan snīdan	snað *sneð sneid	snidon *snidun snitum	sniden (to cut) *gisnidan gisnitum
{ O.E. O.H.G.	séoðan siodan cweðan	séað sōd cwæð	sudon sutum cwædon	soden (to seethe) gisotan cweden (to speak)
{ O.E. O.H.G.	quedan ðéon (< *pihan)	quad ðáh	quátum ðigon	giquetan ðigen (to prosper)
{ O.E. O.H.G.	dīhan téon (< *téohan)	déh téah	digum tugon	gidigan togen (to draw, pull)
{ O.E. O.S. O.H.G.	tiohan ziohan fléon (< *fleohan)	tôh zôh fléah	tugun zugum flugon	gitogan gizogan flogen (to flee)
{ O.E. O.H.G.	heffan céosan keosan	hóf céas kôs	huobun curon kurun	(ir)haban (to lift) coren (to choose) gikoran
{ O.E. O.H.G.	kiosan forléosan firliosan	kôs forléas firlôs	kurum forluron firlurum	gikoran forloren (to lose) firloran

bern; *Hof*: *hübsch* (< *hübesch*); *Hefe*: *heben*. — *gewesen*: *waren*; *kiesen*: *erkoren*, *Kurfürst*; *Verlies*, *Verlust*: *verlieren* (in analogy with *verloren*); *Frost* (English *freeze*): *frieren* (in analogy with *gefroren*); *Öse*: *Ohr*; *zwist*: *zwirn*, *zwir* (dialect form for *twice*); *Durst*: *dürr*. (To the same cause are also due English *lose* and *forlorn*.)

2. West Germanic Gemination or Doubling of Consonants

§ 67. **Nature of Gemination.** Most of the double consonants in Modern German are merely orthographic devices to indicate the quality — so-called shortness — of the preceding vowel. Really double consonants are nowhere pronounced except in the few compounds whose first part happens to end in the same consonant with which the second begins; e.g., *Brot-teig*. But in the older stages of the German language double consonants existed in pronunciation as well as on paper; at least they developed differently from single consonants.

A large number of these older, real double sounds were due to a process known as West Germanic Gemination or Doubling of Consonants. To be sufficiently accurate for our purposes the rule may be formulated thus: All consonants, except *r*, are doubled before a *j*; less regularly, and within certain limits only, also before *w*, *r*, *l*, *n*. But very early in the history of the individual West Germanic languages the geminates or double consonants were simplified after a long vowel.

In inflection some forms regularly had the *j*, others did not. Accordingly, also the single and the double consonants interchange, except where, by analogy, the difference has been equalized, sometimes in favor of the

single consonant, sometimes in favor of the double. Such apparent irregularities as *sitzen*: *saß*, *gesessen*; *Schöpfer*: (*schaffen*) *schuf*, are due to this earlier difference; also in the following couplets the differences in the consonants are due to gemination in the first member and the absence of it in the second: *Weizen*: *weiß*; *schwitzen*: *Schweiß*; *Witz*: *wissen*; *Hitze*: *heiß*; *rupfen*: *raufen*; *Knopf*: *Knauf*; *stecken*: *stechen*; *decken*: *Dach*; and others.

A number of other old geminates are due to assimilation in various stages of German. Cp. English *comb*, *womb*, *lamb*, *climb*, presenting in their orthography the usual antiquated stage of writing, with the corresponding German words *Kamm*, *Wamme*, *Lamm*, *klimmen*.

3. *High German or Second Sound Shift*

§ 68. **General Nature of the Shift.** The most marked characteristic distinguishing the High German from the Low German and from all the other Germanic languages is the series of changes known as the Second or High German Sound Shift. This shift again affected chiefly the three voiceless stop consonants *t*, *p*, and *k*. But it affected them differently in different positions and in the neighborhood of different sounds. Besides, there is a great difference regarding the thoroughness of the change in the different parts of the country. It is most intensive in the extreme southwestern part of the German speaking territory (Switzerland). In this neighborhood it probably also started, and traveled north and eastward, continually growing weaker at the same time. We leave out of consideration these geographical differences and treat

the shift only with regard to the literary language. The following are tables of corresponding words from English, Literary German, and Low German. We have to distinguish a number of groups.

§ 69. Group I. *t, p, k in initial position (except t before r).*

English	Literary German	Low German
ten	zehn	tein
tin	Zinn	tin
to	zu	to
two	zwei	twe
toll	Zoll	toll
tongue	Zunge	tunge
timber	Zimmer (mann)	timmer(mann)
tail	Zagel (dialect)	tagel
pound	Pfund	pund
plow	Pflug	plög
plug	Pflock	plügge
pan	Pfanne	pan
pluck	pflücken	plücken
penny	Pfennig	penning
path	Pfad	pat
can	kann	kan
cold	kalt	kolt
cow	Kuh	kō
kernel	Kern	körnel
cat	Katze	kattte
knave	Knabe	knave

§ 70. Group II. *Single t, p, k, after r, l, m, n* (particularly *t* after *r, l, n*, being homorganous with *t*, all dentals; and *p* after *m*, both being labials; *k* behaves alike after any of them).

English	Literary German	Low German
heart	Herz	hart
smart	Schmerz	smarten
wart	Warze	wort
-wort	Wurzel	wuttel
curt	kurz	kört
shirt	Schurz	schört
lent	Lenz	lent
plant	Pflanze	plant
mint	Minze	münt
holt	Holz	holt
bolt	Bolzen	bolt
smelt	schmelzen	smelten
salt	Salz	solt
malt	Malz	molt
to warp	werfen	warp
carp	Karpfen	karp
sharp	scharf (earlier also scharpf)	scharp
harp	Harfe (earlier also harpfe)	harp
help	helfen	helpen
camp	kämpfen	kamp
damp	Dampf	damp
rump	Rumpf	rump
stump	Stumpf	stump
mark	merken	marken
stark	stark	stark
to milk ¹	melken	melken
—	welk	wēlk
think	denken	denken
sink	sinken	sinken
wink	winken	winken

It is supposed that in these words there was originally a double *p*

That *t* should change to *z* after dentals might be phonetically expected; also that *p* should become *pf* after *m*.

¹ The German noun *Milch* (Engl. *milk*), as a number of similar words, goes back to a form with an epenthetic vowel before the *k*-sound. Cp. the dialect forms *Milich*, *solich*; *Lerche*, Ohg. *lêrahha*.

Why it should do so after *l* and *r* is not apparent.¹ Homorganic sounds naturally reinforce these stops and preserve them more nearly in their original state. Any consonant, however, may have had this effect more or less, as seems to be indicated by the lack of a shift in the case of *k* after any consonant. Interesting in this connection are the German designations for the decades. In *dreißig* we have, corresponding to Low German *-tig*, English *-ty*, *ß*, as is to be expected. This would be in place also in *fünfzig*. But in analogy to *zwanzig*, *vierzig*, *sechzig* (< *sechs* + *zig*), *siebenzig*, *achtzig*, *neunzig*, the stems of which end in dentals, the *z* was adopted in *fünfzig* also.

§ 71. **Group III.** *Originally double t, p, k.* In modern English, as in modern German, the majority of double consonants serve orthographic purposes. In most cases they are not justifiable on etymological grounds, and nowhere are they really pronounced as double. But in past periods of our language double consonants were in many words really pronounced differently from single ones. This is indicated in the orthography of older dialects, and partly, as we may conclude with a good deal of assurance, by their development in High German. The fact that in English and Low German the old difference between single and double consonants has been obliterated, gives a strange appearance to those High German words which, though in different form, preserve this difference. We have, then, original *tt*, *pp*, *kk* > *tz*, *pf*, and *ck*.

¹ Probably in the words in question *pf* goes back to a double *p*.

English	Literary German	Low German
scot(free)	Schatz	schat
set	setzen	setten
cup	Kopf	kop
apple	Apfel	appel
shape	Schöpfer	sack
sack	Sack	—
wake	wecken	wecker
naked	nackt	nâkent

§ 72. Group IV. *Single t, p, k after vowels > ss ß, ff (f), ch.*

English	Literary German	Low German
eat	essen	eten
foot	Fuß	fôt
hate	hassen	haten
hot	heiß	hêt
let	lassen	laten
mete	messen	meten
vat	Faß	fat
sleep	schlafen	slapen
sheep	Schaf	schap
ripe	reif	rîp
pipe	Pfeife	pîp
gape	gaffen	gapen
cooper	Küfer	kûper
cake	Kuchen	kôk
rake	Rechen	—
wake	wachen	waken
cook	Koch	kôk
book	Buch	bôk
seek	suchen	sôken
make	machen	maken

§ 73. **Unshifted t and p.** 1. *ft, cht, st, sp* remain. In certain combinations *t* and *p* are not shifted. They remain, in the first place, when preceded by the spirants *f, ch, or s* in the combinations *ft, cht, st, and sp*. Examples:

English	Literary German	Low German
night	Nacht	nacht
right	Recht	recht
knight	Knecht	knecht
light	Licht	lücht
might	Macht	macht
shaft	Schaft	schacht
craft	Kraft	kracht, kraft
soft	sanft	sacht
—	Duft	(duft)
first	Fürst	fürst
nest	Nest	nüst
cost	Kosten	kosten
mast	Mast	mast
rest	Rast	rüst
frost	Frost	fröst
most	meist	mêst
beast	Biest	bêest
asp	Espe	espe
wasp	Wespe	wesp
lisp	lispeln	lispeln
speak	sprechen	sprêken
spool	Spule	spól
spin	spinnen	spinnen
spill	spülen	spôlen
spear	Speer	spêr
spare	sparen	spârn
span	Spanne	span

2. *tr* remains both initially and medially.

English	Literary German	Low German
tread	treten	trêden
true	treu	trô
{ trump	Trumpf	trump
{ trumpet	Trompete	trumpet
{ troop	Truppe	trupp
winter	Winter (< Gothic wintrus)	winter (<i>e</i> secondary)
bitter	bitter (< * bitrs)	bitter „

§ 74. *d* > *t*. Besides the three voiceless stops, also a number of other sounds were shifted in High German. Thus, Germanic *d* (*ð*) > English *d*, Low German *d*, High German *t*. Examples:

English	Literary German	Low German
day	Tag	dag
door	Tür	dör
do	tun	dôn
bid	bieten	bêden
word	Wort	word
bed	Bett	bed
dead	tot	dôd
red	rot	rôd
good	gut	gôd

The shift *ð* > *t* in High German is subject to a number of exceptions. Or rather, in certain combinations a new shift took place which restored the original state of things. Early in Ohg. medial *nt* became *nd*. It is a plain

case of assimilation. Compare the agreement of the English cognates for the German *binden*, *blind*, *Ende*, *Feind*, *Freund*, *Grund*, *Hand*, *Hinde*, *Hund*, *hundert*, *Land*, *Rinde*, *Sand*, *senden*, (*ge-*)*sund*, *winden*, *Wind*, *Wunde*. — In a comparatively few words *t* has been retained after *n* before an *-er*: *hinter* (but *hindern*), *unter*, *munter*, *Winter*.

Less commonly *lt* and *rt* became *ld* and *rd*: *Geduld*, *Geld*, *mild*, *Schild*, *Mulde*; after *r* we have it in *Herde*.

Finally, there are a number of words in German in which initial *d* is not shifted. Some of them are evidently of foreign, particularly Low German origin; cp. *Damm*, *Daune*, *Deich*, *Düne*, possibly also *Drohne*. *Bord*, with final *d*, is also of Low German origin. Other exceptions cannot be thus explained: *Dampf*, *dauern*, *Dill*, *Docke*, *Dotter*, *Drude*, *ducken*, *Duft*, *dumm*, *Dung*, *dunkel*, *Dunst*, and a few less common words.

§ 75. **Germanic *p* > English *th*, German *d*.** The Germanic voiceless *p* is generally preserved as *th* in English, though in a number of unaccented words — enclitics — such as *thou*, *their*, *they*, *them*, and between sonorous sounds it became voiced; e.g., *breathe*. In combination with *l* (*lp*), *p* > *d* in English, as it did throughout in German. Hence English *gold*: German *Gold*; English *wild*: German *wild*. But not every English *ld* which corresponds to German *ld* goes back to *lp*: *mild*: *mild*, Gothic *mildeis*. In High German and in Low German *p* regularly became *d*. For examples see the table on the following page:

The shift *p* > *d*, in High German as in Low German, is almost uniform. In a very few cases we find a *t* instead of *d*: High German *tausend*, *tunken*, *wert* (: *Würde*), *tauen*, Low German *dusend*, *dunken*, *werd*, English *thaw*.

In a few words the combination *bw* occurred initially, which developed peculiarly. In Ohg. it regularly shifted to *dw*, but early became *tw* and in late Mhg. *zw*. Thus we have in Low German *dwingen*, Mhg. *twingen* (cp. Twing Uri in Schiller's *Tell*), Nhg. *zwingen*; English *dwarf*, Mhg. *twerc*, Nhg. *Zwerg*, and a few others.

English	Literary	Low German
thin	dünn	dünn
thou	du	du
thick	dick	dick
thirsty	durstig	döstig
three	drei	drē
think	denken	denken
brother	Bruder	brör (broder)
bathe	baden	baden
mouth	Mund	mund

§ 76. 1. $\text{ḫ} > \text{b}$; $\text{bb} > \text{pp}$. The voiced labial spirant *ḫ* early changed to the voiced stop *b* in certain positions in all Germanic languages. In High German it became *b* throughout, except in final positions where it has the value of *p*. In English *ḫ* medially between vowels or sonorous sounds became *v*, which becomes *f* in final positions: *calf*: *calves*. Hence many German words with *b* correspond to English cognates with *b*, others to cognates with *v*, *f*. Compare the cognates for *Beere*, *besser*, *Blume*, *breit*, *brennen*, *bringen*, *Brunnen*, *Brust*, *Braut*, and others, as over against those for *geben*, *Grab*, *schieben*, *übel*, and similarly in final position *halb*, *Laub*, *Stab*, etc.

2. $\text{bb} >$ generally pp . While single *ḫ* remained, or

better perhaps, became a voiced stop, *bb* became voiceless *pp*. It is not found in many words. But compare the English cognates for *Rippe*, *Krippe*, *Sippe*; similarly also *üppig*. — A number of words in High German having *bb* are of Low German origin: *Ebbe*, *Knubbe*, *Krabbe*, *Robbe*.

§ 77. *g* > *g*; *gg* > *ck*. 1. Like the labial spirant, also the guttural spirant *g* became a stop consonant, voiced, but not as consistently throughout the whole territory. In English also it changed to the stop *g* in some positions, to *y* in others. Compare the cognates for *geben*, *gehen*, *Galgen*, *Garten*, *Gürtel*, *greifen*; and, on the other hand, *gern*, *gelb*, *gellen*, and others.

2. *Pronunciation*. In writing, the older dialects very nearly agree with the modern ones, except that the letter *g* in the former had also other uses. But we must not conclude from this correspondence that no changes took place. For our purposes, however, we need not consider them. Nor is it necessary to go into detail with regard to the great difference in the pronunciation of *g* in different parts of Germany. Though in the dialects it has in only a comparatively small territory the value of a voiced stop, as in English *go*, this is in general its value in "standard" literary German, except in final position, where it becomes voiceless, but lenis as compared with *k*, a fortis. In the suffix *-ig*, *g* is to be pronounced as a spirant (= German *ch*), in *-ige*, etc., as a voiced spirant. — *ng* designates a single guttural nasal like English *ng* in *sing*, not in *finger*.

3. *gg* > *ck*. Double *g*, still found in Low German, regularly changed to *ck* in High German, to *dg* in English.

Compare the English cognates for the Low and High German *brügge*: *Brücke*: *bridge*; *rügge*: *Rücken*: *ridge*; *egge*: *Ecke*: *edge*; *mügge*: *Mücke*: *midge*; *hêge*: *Hecke*: *hedge*; — : *Weck*: *wedge*. — Words with *gg* in High German, like *Flagge*, *Dogge*, *Bagger*, are of Low German or foreign origin.

§78. **mb** > **mm**. In High and Low German *mb* was changed to *mm* by assimilation. This change is also made in English pronunciation except in medial position: *Kummer*: *cumber*; *Zimmer*: *timber*; but *dumm*: *dumb*; *Lamm*: *lamb*; *Kamm*: *comb*; *klimmen*: *climb*; *Wamme*: *womb*.

§ 79. **Germanic h (ch)**, from Idg. *k*, was retained, approximately in the value of English *h*.

1. Initially, but here before vowels only. Initially before consonants it was dropped early, as also in English, except in the combination *hw* (written *wh*: *what*). Words formerly having this initial *h* are *laut*, *was*, *wer*, *Ring*, *lachen*, *laufen*, *neigen*, *rein*, *Roß*, *Rücken*, *Weile*, and a number of others.

2. Medial *h* between vowels was clearly pronounced in the older stages of German. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it began to be obscured in the northwest of the Middle German territory, and in the fourteenth century it seems to have become silent in all German dialects. It is often still written, and, under the influence of the written word, also sometimes pronounced. But this is an artificial restoration and not widely in vogue. Thus *h* etymologically belongs to, and was once clearly heard in *Ähre* (Mhg. *äher*); *nahe* (cp. *nächst*); *sehen* (*Gesicht*); *gedeihen* (*gediegen*); *erwähnen*, *Fehde*, *Vieh* (cp. the dialect form *Viech*); *Gemahl*, *hohe* (*hoch*);

leihen, *Stahl*, *Zähre*, *zehn*, *ziehen* (zog); *weihen*, and other words. Probably this *h*, which was regularly followed by an unaccented *e*, became silent because first this *e* was so weakened that it disappeared, and *h* with the quality which it had at the time can be pronounced before vowels only.

But owing to the fact that the *h* was retained in the orthography of such words as *sehen*, *Vieh*, *Fehde*, the stem vowels of which had regularly become long as standing in open syllables, the notion arose that *h* was an orthographic device to indicate length of vowels, and it was then introduced also in other words where it does not etymologically belong. This new *h*, as a sign of vowel length, is of very frequent occurrence: (a) It is used in words finally after long vowels: *froh*, *früh*, *Kuh*; (but cp. *so*, *du*, *zu*, and others whose vowel is long). (b) It is inserted between a long vowel and a liquid or nasal: *Bahn*, *lahm*, *zahn*, *Rahm*, *Sohn*, *Huhn*, *Mohn*, *Bohne*, *Lohn*; *wohl*, *Wahl*, *hohl*, *Kohl*, *Sohle*; *Jahr*, *mehr*, *Ohr*, *sehr*, *wahr*, and others. (c) It sometimes crept into infinitives with long stem vowels, many of which had become monosyllabic, but have now regained the full infinitive ending *-en*: *lehren*, *blühen*, *drehen*, *mähen*, *nähen*, and others. Of course, the *h* is kept throughout the inflection of these verbs. In analogy with *drehen*, *mähen*, and *nähen*, we have an *h* also in their cognates *Draht*, *Mahd*, and *Nacht*.

3. Germanic *h* was maintained as *ch*, with spirantal value, in final position and before *t* in the same syllable. We have therefore in related words sometimes *h*, sometimes *ch*. Such words are: *jähe*: *jach*; *höher*: *hoch*; *nahe*, *Nähe*: *nach*, also *nächst*; *schmähen*: *Schmach*; *ziehen*:

zeuch, etc. In many other forms where *ch* might be expected, *h* has been taken over from related inflected forms by analogy. Thus we say *nah*, because we say *näher*, etc.; *Floh*, because of *Flöhe*, *Reh* because of *Rehe*, and others. But words not influenced by analogous forms have kept the final *ch*: *durch*, *doch*, *noch*; also *nach*, being no longer associated with *nahe*; similarly *Rauchwaaren* (furs) because the first part is no longer associated with *rauh*.

Also before *t*, *ch* was kept, hence: *sehen*: *Gesicht*; *geschehen*: *Geschichte*; *fliehen*: *Flucht*; *ziehen*: *Zucht*, and others. In *höchst*, *nächst* the *ch* keeps its spirantal value; in other words it is retained before *s* in writing, but has acquired the value of *k*: *wachsen*, *Flachs*, *Wachs*, *Lachs*, *Dachs*.

4. *ft*: *cht*. It is necessary to call attention to one change which took place on Low German rather than on High German territory. Quite early it appeared also in Middle German dialects and from these was introduced into High German also. *ft* became on Low (and Middle) German territory *cht*, the labial gave place to the guttural spirant. Words commonly used in literary German in which this change is apparent are: *echt* (< *êhaft*); *Nichte* (cp. *Neffe* and Mhg. *Niftel*); *Gerücht* (etymologically connected with *Ruf*); similarly *berüchtigt*, *ruchbar* and *ruchtbar*, and *anrühig* (popular etymology for **anrühig*). This entire group is popularly connected with *riechen*, *Geruch*. Luther has, Exodus II, 21: “. . . daß ihr unsern Geruch habt stinkend gemacht vor Pharaoh und seinen Knechten.” We have in German, side by side, *sacht* and *sanft* (*n* having disappeared before all

spirants in Low German as in English); *Schacht* and *Schaft*; *Schlucht* and *Schlucht*. Cp. also *sichten* and English *sift*, and German *Sieb*, *b* being in direct interchange with *f* by Verner's law.

§ 80. The s-Sounds. 1. *The Old s*. The High German, together with its sister languages, inherited from Germanic and Idg. the voiceless, dental spirant *s*, which, by Verner's Law, became voiced in certain positions and developed here into *r*, but remained generally. In High German and literary German, however, it has had its own history.

a. It remained voiceless when doubled, as in *küssen*, English *kiss*; *missen*, English *miss*; *pressen* English *press*. It remained voiceless medially when preceded or followed by a voiceless consonant, as in *wachsen*, English *wax*; *Wechsel*; *Gast*, English *guest*; *Haspel*, *Wispel*. It remained voiceless in final positions: *Gans*, *Haus*, *Maus*, *Gras*, *Hals*, etc.

b. It became voiced (like English *z*) early on Low German territory, and is voiced in literary German (but not in South German dialects) initially before vowels and medially between sonants: *sagen*, *sehen*, *sinnen* *Sonne*, *Summe*, *Amsel*, *Gänse*, *Hirse*, *Linse*, *Hülse*, *Esel*, *Ase*, *Masern*, *Hose*, etc.

c. Probably before the New High German period *s* lost its dental articulation and became a palatal, with the value of English *sh*, initially (in literary German not medially) before *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, where it is now written *sch*, but also before *p*, *t*, where it is still written *s*, and still, incorrectly pronounced as a dental in the northwestern part of Germany, a pronunciation which is undoubtedly due to

the influence of the spelling. It would be more consistent to write also *schp* and *scht* initially. That this is not done is due to the fact that *st* and *sp* occur also medially, where *s* did not become a palatal: *Haspel*, *Wespe*, *Husten*, *Kasten*. In most of the High German territory *s* acquired the value of *sh* — became palatal — medially and finally after *r*; but in literary German this pronunciation is sanctioned only in certain words. The following are some of the more common ones: *birschen* (to hunt), *Kirsche* (cherry), *herrschen* (to rule), *knirschen* (gnash), *Kürschner* (furrier). In most of the High German dialects *-rst* is regularly pronounced *-rscht*.

2. *The New High German s < t.* The *s* from older *t*, developed in High German, is, with very few exceptions, voiceless and a pure dental. It is written *ß* (*B*) after long vowels, finally, and before consonants with which it unites; but *ff* (not *ßf*) medially after short vowels. Germans writing with English script do not write *sz* but *ss* also for *ß*, or the old English long and round *s*. Also in printing, *sz* is not used. For *ß* good offices have the ligature *B*, others use *ss*.

§ 81. **The Remaining Consonants.** For our purposes we need not treat any of the remaining consonants in detail. In general it may be added that the voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g* (for *s*, voiced medially, but voiceless finally, see § 80, 1, *a* and *b*) become voiceless whenever they are at the end of a word or a syllable: *haben*: *Habsucht*, *Länder*: *Land*, *Todes*: *Tod*, etc.; voiceless also before voiceless consonants in the same syllable.

§ 82. **Transitional Sounds.** *a.* In a number of words we find between an *n* and (e)*r*, or *n* and (e)*l*, a *d* or *t* which

does not belong to them etymologically. This dental developed because, in passing from *n* to *r* or from *n* to *l*, the resulting glide is a dental sound, akin to *d* and *t*, only weaker. When once it had become noticeable, it was felt as a constituent part of the words affected and was gradually strengthened and in time represented on paper. The more common words with this so-called inorganic dental are *Spindel: spinnen; minder* (Low German *minner*); *entlang; entzwei* (< *in zwei*); *eigentlich, öffentlich; wöchentlich, gelegentlich, namentlich, ordentlich, verschiedentlich. Flehentlich, hoffentlich, wesentlich*, may be derived from present participles, and their influence may have helped to develop the other forms.

b. Similarly a *t* (sometimes also written *d*) is often added to words ending in *n*, *s*, or *f*, and occasionally also after a *ch*. Compare for a similar development of a dental after *s* the colloquial English *oncet, acrost*. The more common words showing this added *t* are *Axt, Obst, Papst, Palast* (cp. English *palace*), *Morast: English morass; jetzt: jetzig; längst, mittelst: mittels; selbst, einst* (English *once*, from older *ones*) (*nebst, sonst*); *Saft: sap; Hüft(e): hip; Werft: wharf; Mond: moon; morgend-, jemand, niemand, irgend, Dutzend: dozen; Habicht: hawk; Dickicht, Kehrlicht*.

II. The Vowels

1. Gradation or Ablaut

§ 83. **General.** Related words ordinarily have the same, or nearly the same, consonants in the stem, but frequently differ as to their vowels. Various causes have

contributed to bring about this state of things. The oldest differences open to our observation are common to all the Idg. languages and known as Ablaut or gradation.

§ 84. **Quantitative and Qualitative Gradation.** 1. *Quantitative Gradation* is a regular interchange of vowels in various forms of the same word or in related words, due, in part at least, to variations in stress in the Idg. mother tongue.

It must be recalled in this connection, what was also stated in the discussion of Verner's Law, that the Idg. mother language had a stress accent shifting from one syllable to another in the inflection of a word or in the course of its development; the same vowel has quite different values under different degrees of stress. Recall: *Páris*: *Parísian*; *hístory*: *histórical*; or the German *Problém*: *problemátisch*.

This variation of stress causes the same vowel to be more distinct, or less so, or even to disappear altogether, as in the Greek *πέτ-εσθαι* (to fly, present infinitive), but *πτ-έσθαι* (aorist infinitive); or in our common pronunciation of *history* as *histry*, or *historical* as '*storical*. Compare also our English word *story*, derived from the Latin *historia*, the first syllable being dropped for lack of stress. Changes of this character in Idg. time are known as Quantitative Gradation.

2. *Qualitative Gradation.* Another set of changes are designated as Qualitative Gradation. This involves not merely the slurring, or reduction in length and distinctness of the same vowel, but the changing into an altogether different one, as in the Greek stem *λείπ-ω*: *λέ-λοιπ-α*, or English *sing*: *sang*. The cause for this change cannot

be a difference in stress, because it appears in syllables both of which were originally stressed. Some variation of pitch has been suggested as a possible cause, but so far no indisputable proof of the theory can be adduced.

§ 85. **Gradation in the Strong Verb.** Vowel gradation can most readily be observed in the strong verb, because the different verb forms are best preserved in pairs such as are necessary to detect gradation — gradation being a change from one sound to another — and most easily recognized as belonging together. But gradation existed in many related words with different stress, or pitch, or whatever may have been the cause of qualitative gradation. And it existed in suffixes and prefixes as well as in root syllables. Traces of this can be found in various Idg. languages. Cp. *erteilen*, *Urteil*.

In the course of time, many of the older vowels resulting from gradation changed their quality, and even the rather regular and perspicuous series found in Gothic, the oldest Germanic dialect at all extensively preserved, has been very much disturbed in German and more so in English.

§ 86. **Nature of Gradation.** Older grammarians thought that gradation, as various other changes, had been consciously invented for the purpose of making grammatical distinctions, particularly to form the various tenses of strong verbs. But it is a well-established fact that gradation is nothing premeditated; there was no more purpose in these changes than we have in the change of vowels in *history*: *historical*. They were simply, as far as we can discern, the inevitable result of changes in stress and of some other, as yet unknown cause, by which

these words were affected in various functions. What may have been at the bottom of these variations in stress, etc., we have no means of knowing.

§ 87. **Qualitative and Quantitative Gradation in the Verb.** Confining our consideration to the strong verb, we may say that the difference existing between the vowel of the present and that of the preterite singular of a strong verb, both of which were stressed on the root syllable, is qualitative gradation.

The preterite plural and the perfect participle were stressed on a suffix, and hence had weakened stem vowels; the difference between them and the vowels of the present and the preterite singular is due to a difference of stress, and is therefore quantitative gradation.

As we should expect, Verner's Law, if operative at all, operates in the preterite plural and the perfect participle; generally, however, the differences resulting in accordance with it have been obliterated, leveled, in the course of time.

The difference between the preterite singular and the preterite plural can still be seen in a few isolated forms, such as *ward: wurden*; *sang: sungen*; English *we sang: we sung*, and other colloquial forms; also *weiß: wissen* and other preterite-presents. It has been generally obliterated in German, by analogy. Phonetic changes, on the other hand, had distorted the regular development even in an earlier period, so that not only in the oldest Germanic dialects, but also in the other Idg. languages gradation does not appear undisturbed, though it is much more perspicuous in some of them than in modern German.

§ 88. **Gradation Classes.** There were in Idg. a num-

ber of gradations; i.e., a number of pairs of vowels in regular interchange one with the other. But of these gradations only the one known as the Idg. *e/o* gradation has come down into the Germanic languages sufficiently intact to make it of any real importance. And both in German and in the other Idg. languages the *e/o* gradation is more frequent than all the other gradations combined. In a second gradation, appearing in the Germanic languages as an interchange between *a/ō*, or their developments, are embodied several older pairs, which by reason of phonetic development coincided in the Germanic languages. Of the *e/o* gradation we have five subdivisions or series according to the sounds following the *e* or *o* in the stem of the verb; the *a/ō* gradation is not subdivided.

§ 89. **The *e/o* Gradation.** When we speak of the *e/o* gradation, we mean that in all the series belonging to it the qualitative gradation appears as a change from *e* to *o*, that is to say, *e* to *o* in Idg. times. In Germanic, the *e* > *i*, the *o* > *a*. Distinguishing the series according to the sound following the vowel of the stem, we might theoretically look for as many subdivisions as there are sounds in the alphabet. But as a matter of fact, we need to consider only five. By pretty generally accepted custom, the arrangement of these series is the following:

1. *ei/oi*; Germanic *ii/ai* > *î/ai*.
2. *eu/ou*; Germanic *iu/au*.
3. *e/o*, Germanic *i/a*, followed by liquid or a nasal plus some consonant. •
4. *e/o*, Germanic *i/a*, plus simple liquid or nasal.
5. *e/o*, Germanic *i/a*, plus any other consonant.

The *a/ō* gradation is usually classed as the sixth series.

In Gothic the conditions are still tolerably clear. The earlier *ii* being contracted to *ī*, written in Gothic *ei*, we have for the first series the type:

I. *sneipān snaiþ sniþum sniþans*.

The preterite plural has short instead of long *i*; or, compared with the preterite singular, *a* disappeared altogether as also in the perfect participle. Similarly in the second series:

II. *biuðan bauþ buðum buðans*.

Here the *u* following the stem vowels and forming diphthongs with them in the present and the preterite singular is the only vowel remaining in the preterite plural and the perfect participle.

In the third series we meet another specifically Germanic development, found also in the fourth. If they behaved like the first and second, dropping the original vowels of the stem and keeping the sounds directly following them, we should expect for the third series

bindan band bndum bndans

hilpan halþ hlpum hlpans.

But we can observe in popular pronunciation how easily an obscure vowel develops before an *l*, or other strongly sonorous sounds, as in *people* pronounced *peepul*, or in the proper name *Hempl*. Similarly also the Germanic languages developed a vowel before an interconsonantal liquid or nasal. Quite unanimously this vowel has been considered to be *u*; but a noted German scholar has lately made it seem quite plausible that this vowel was *o* rather than *u*. In Gothic, however, it appears as *u*, and accordingly the third series is:

III. *bindan band bundum bundans*, or
hilpan halp hulpum hulpans.

The fourth and fifth series have long vowels in the preterite plural where we should really look for none at all if they followed the example of the others. In this long vowel we have probably a case of compensatory lengthening, another syllable having dropped, but we need not puzzle about its origin. The series are:

IV. *niman nam nēmum numans*.

V. *giban gaf gēbum gibans*, the participle of the fifth having adopted the vowel of the present stem. The sixth class, finally, is represented by:

VI. *faran fôr fôrum farans*.

A number of causes have worked together to separate the verbs originally belonging to the same series, and only as we know these causes and can control the resulting diversities, are we enabled in New High German to detect the older relations. Some elucidation will be attempted in another paragraph (§ 255).

2. Assimilation of Stem Vowels to those of Endings

§ 90. **Vowel Mutation or Umlaut.** a. *Mutation* is the approach in articulation or pronunciation of an accented stem vowel to an unaccented *i* or *j* of an ending immediately following; *i* or *j* with secondary stress were not so effective. Short *ă* was the first sound to be affected, at any rate the first a change of whose character finds expression in literary monuments. It appears as *e* in Ohg. monuments of about the middle of the eighth century. Wherever, in later days, an etymological connection was still felt with a stem having *a*, the mutated vowel

was written *ä*, and is so written now. Later, also *ā*, *ǫ*, *ō*, *ŷ*, *ū*, *ou* (our *au*) and *uo* (our *ū*) show a corresponding modification, and about 1200 the change of all these sounds, in the position indicated, was completed, though it is even then not always clearly denoted in the manuscripts. The common designation was an *e* over the sound affected, which degenerated into our (") over *a*, *o*, *u*.

b. *Obstacles*. Mutation was at first regularly prevented by an *ht* or *hs* (= *cht*, *chs*) standing between the stem vowel and the *i* or *j* causing the change, less regularly also by a few other consonant combinations.

c. *Functional Development*. In the plural of a number of noun declensions, in one set of comparative and superlative endings, and in the preterite subjunctive of strong verbs the vowel of the endings was *i*, and mutation had to take place. In later centuries, accordingly, the cause and origin of the process having been wholly obliterated, mutation came to be regarded as a device for making grammatical distinctions of the sort indicated; and, by analogy, it was then introduced not only where *chs* and *cht* had formerly prevented it, but also in words whose ending had never had an *i* or *j* to call for the change: Ohg. *naht*, *nahti*, Nhg. *Nacht*: *Nächte*, but cp. *Weihnachten*. Mutation, in its origin and its early stages a phonetic process without any meaning, has thus in the course of its development acquired a number of functions and become a device to indicate plurality in nouns, the subjunctive in the past of certain verbs, and comparison in the adjective. In these functions it is still active.

d. *e*: *ä*. Words in which the mutated vowel dates back to an early period often have *e* as the changed vowel

for *a* and are not quite so easily recognized as cognate forms as words in which the changed vowel is given as *ä*. Examples are *Vater: Vetter; Adel: edel; Fahrt: fertig*, etc.

e. *Nature of the Process.* Opinions among scholars as to the manner in which the final result came about have changed somewhat from time to time. It used to be held, quite universally, that the cause behind the change was a psychological anticipation of the *i*-articulation, much the same as when in writing we put down a letter of a following word or syllable before its time. There are some facts, however, which seem to militate against this explanation. In the first place, the *i* or *j* of the ending had disappeared (or been weakened to *e*) before the change of vowel is indicated in our monuments at least. And it does not seem possible that a sound could cause anticipation after it disappeared. Again, the consonant combinations *cht* and *chs* prevented the mutation, plainly because the *ch* is articulated far back in the mouth, is a velar or guttural and as such prevents the fronting of the preceding vowel. If the process were simply psychological anticipation, it is argued, the character of the intervening consonant would have no retarding power. Scherer, and almost simultaneously Sievers, argued therefore that the *i* or *j* had first changed the articulation of the intervening consonants (cp. the difference in the *k*-sound in English *key* and *cool*) and that these, in turn, attracted the articulation of the stem vowels. And yet of late a number of eminent scholars have abandoned this explanation and have returned practically to the older view. What would hinder us from thinking that the *i* (*j*) of the ending affected simultaneously both the

stem vowel and whatever consonants intervened? But why does the vowel change find no representation on paper until the *i* (*j*) had disappeared? For the same reason that the consonants intervening and supposed also to have been changed in value remain the same on paper. When the *i* disappeared the stem vowels affected had undergone a change sufficiently distinct to separate them from the class to which they originally belonged and yet not sufficiently great to warrant designating them with a distinct character or letter in writing; i.e., *a* before *i* had become different from the ordinary *a* as found before other vowels, but it had not yet become *e*, into which it developed in time. The evident effect of an intervening *cht*, *chs* seems no insurmountable obstacle to the theory of psychological anticipation. As a counteracting force, though of a purely phonetic or, if we wish, physical nature, it could as well inhibit any psychological anticipation as it could a phonetic change, in which, of course, a psychological element is no less involved. Assuming the process to have been as suggested here, we also avoid trouble with words in which the *i* or *j* of the ending immediately followed the stem vowel, and which, accordingly, offered no intervening consonant in which to store, potentially, the influence supposed to have changed the stem vowel in a later day, as in *säen* < *sajan*.

f. *Retrograde Mutation* or "*Rückumlaut*." In a number of weak verbs with an originally long stem syllable, i.e., a syllable either having a long vowel or ending in more than one consonant, the present used to have a mutated vowel, while the past showed no mutation. The common opinion being that the infinitive or present stem

always represents a more original stage, grammarians saw in the apparently converse change from $e > a$ (instead of from $a > e$ as in one mutation), from $\ddot{o} > o$, from $\ddot{u} > u$, etc., a retrogressive mutation and applied to the phenomenon the name "Rückumlaut." The class of verbs in which it appeared was much larger in Mhg. than now, when it is reduced to *denken*, *wenden*, *senden*, *nennen*, *kennen*, *rennen*, and *brennen*. Most of the verbs in question by analogy introduced the mutated form of the vowel in the preterite also: *hören*: *horte* became *hören*: *hörte*. But the explanation of the difference in the present and the preterite vowels, still existing in the verbs enumerated, lies in the fact that in this whole class, i.e., roughly speaking after all long stem syllables, the *j* causing the mutation was syncopated or dropped in the preterite before it had exerted its influence, while in verbs with a short stem syllable it was retained, not only in the present, but also, in the form of *i*, in the preterite long enough to cause mutation.

§ 91. **Earlier Mutation.** A change very similar in nature to mutation took place much earlier in all Germanic languages, and traces of it are, accordingly, found in English as well as in German and Scandinavian. It is the change from Idg. $e > i$ before a nasal + consonant or an *i* or *j* in the following syllable; in Ohg. $e > i$ also before an *u* in the following syllable. Due to this change is the difference between the stem vowels of *geben* (< *geban*): *gibst gibt* (< *gibis, gibit*); *Herde*: *Hirte* (< Ohg. *hirti*), and the difference in vowels in *helfen*: *binden* and many other couplets with the change $e:i$.

§ 92. **Breaking.** It was long considered well estab-

lished that the original Idg. *ũ* as well as the vowel developed from syllabic *l_o m_o n_o r_o* in Pregermanic, and commonly also given as *u*, became *o* before an *a*, *e*, *o* in the following syllable, unless a nasal + consonant intervened; but both remained *u* before a nasal + consonant and before an *i* or *j* in the following syllable. Under the same circumstances *iu* > *eo* and finally developed in High German to *ie*, which now has the value of *ī*. But it seems better (after the investigations of Bremer, *Idg. Forsch.*, 26, 148 ff.) to assume that the Idg. *u* uniformly developed to *o* in Germanic; that syllabic *l_o m_o n_o r_o* > *ol om on or*; and that this *o* > *u* under precisely the same conditions that *e* > *i*, i.e., before nasal + consonant and before *i* or *j* in the following syllable. This interchange of *o* and *u*, of *iu* and its descendants, and *eo* and its descendants is commonly known as breaking. To it must be attributed the vowel difference in *gebunden*: *geholfen*, *gesungen*; *geworfen*, etc. (*geschwommen*, *gesonnen*, and a few others have *o* because *u* > *o* in Nhg. before a double nasal); also in *Gold*: *Gulden* (from *guldin*), *hold*: *Huld*; similarly in *fliegen* as compared with the older forms *fleugst*, *fleugt*, and in like couplets. It is to be noted that in Modern German the old diphthong *iu* > *eu*.

3. Change in Vowel Quantity

1. In Accented Syllables

§ 93. **Change of Quantity and Loss of Vowels.** Before the close of the Mhg. period a tendency was developed in the North to lengthen vowels in open syllables. Most of the long vowels in Modern High German correspond

to short ones in Mhg. On the other hand, many of the originally long vowels have been shortened in Nhg. Owing to this process, the quantity of the vowels in related forms is often not consistent. Thus we have: *nēhmen: nimmst; trēten: trittst; Vâter: Gevatter, Vetter; gēben: gibst, Gift; wiegen: Gewicht*, and others.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising to find usage with regard to vowel quantity to be at variance in different parts of the country. The South retains more nearly the older etymological values, while in the North the value of the vowel in a stem syllable depends largely upon the form of the syllable: if it is open, i.e., if it ends in the vowel, the vowel is long, if it is closed, ending in a consonant, the vowel, unless marked as long by various devices, is short, e.g., *Grăb*, but *Grâ-bes*. Literary usage is in the main in agreement with that of Middle Germany. Here, also, vowels in open syllables are long, and those in closed syllables short, but with a very important exception. If in the course of inflection the stem syllable of a word becomes open and its vowel long in consequence, the vowel is long in all forms, whether followed by a consonant in the same syllable or not. Middle German and literary usage accordingly call for a long *â* in *Grăb*, *Grăs*, etc., because in the course of inflection we get forms as *Gra-bes*, *Gra-ses*, a single consonant between two vowels always being drawn to the second vowel, except where an ending is still plainly felt as a heterogeneous suffix, e.g., in *König-in* though many prefer even here to draw the consonant to the following syllable: *Köni-gin*.

2. In Unaccented Syllables

If we compare English words of Germanic origin with corresponding German forms we find them very often shorter by one syllable. If on the other hand we compare present German forms with their Ohg. or Gothic cognates we often find in the older dialects the forms longer and usually the vowels more distinct in the endings. From the time when the chief accent was fixed on the root syllable, that is, throughout the history of the Germanic languages, a weakening of the inflectional endings is apparent. In English it culminated in the utter loss of them, and German is well on the way toward that stage. What endings are left, have with few exceptions the mumbled vowel *e*, and this is also the vowel of almost all unstressed prefixes.

Lack of stress has made havoc of forms in the dialects much more than in literary German as ordinarily pronounced, though it is an utterly erroneous notion that we distinctly pronounce every letter we write. But we need not go to the dialects to find numerous forms which for lack of stress have been so thoroughly changed that they are no longer recognized as related to their stressed cognates. The second part of *Drittel*, *Viertel*, etc., is the same as *Teil*; of *Jungfer*: *Frau*; of *Junker*: *Herr* (from *junc herre*); of *Adler*: *Aar* (from *adel âr*); of *Nachbar*: *Bauer* (from *nah-ge-bûre*); of *Wimper*: *Braue* (*wint brawe* = winding, curving brow); of *heute*: *Tag* (from *hiû tagu* = on this day); of *heuer*: *Jahr* (*hiu jaru*, this year), and others.

But the development is not finished. The *e* in the

endings, and in the dialects also in unaccented prefixes, has a constant struggle for its existence. In the South it has been dropped in final position altogether and is almost gone in a number of prefixes, as *g'storbe*, etc.; *ich komm*, *ich seh*, etc. The literary language, following in this respect Middle German usage, preserves the *e* better, but not altogether.

a. In particular, it has disappeared after derivative suffixes as *-in*, *-er*, *-ung*, *-nis* and others: *Königin*, *Fischer*, *Bestellung*, *Finsternis*. It is difficult to give broad rules covering many cases as to the dropping or retaining of the final *e*. It has a tendency to drop after monosyllabic stems, unless they end in *b d s* or *g*, which would have to lose their voice if coming into final position. Thus the *e* is retained in *öde*, *trübe*, *träge*, *Knabe*, *Getöse*, *weise*, etc., whose consonants would become voiceless if not followed by *e*; while the *e* dropped in *spät*, *kühl*, *leer*, *neu*, *bereit*, *dicht*, *dünn*, *dürr*, *eng*, *fest*, and many others, all of which ended in *e* in Mhg. However, the *e* has been retained also generally in *nütze*, *irre*, and other words where no good reason is apparent; and it dropped in *gescheit* (Mhg. *geschide*), *mild*, *wild*, and some others, though the apocope involved the unvoicing of the final consonant. While therefore this rule is of general application, it is not without exceptions.

b. Wherever any grammatical function could be attached to the final *e* it was usually kept, despite the foregoing general rule. Thus it has almost invariably remained in the nominative singular of weak nouns denoting living beings, as *Knabe*, *Rabe*, *Riese*, *Scherge*, *Rüde*, *Bürge*, *Erbe*, in which cases it conformed to the general

rule, but also in numerous instances where this is not the case: *Affe*, *Bote*, *Drache*, *Falke*, *Finke* or *Fink*, *Gatte*, *Gefährte*, *Knappe*, *Neffe*, *Pathe*, and others. That it was lost in *Fürst*, *Graf*, *Herr*, and *Prinz* is probably due to the fact that they are mostly used in connection with a proper name as titles of honor, and therefore usually proclitic. *Farr*, *Fink*, *Ochs*, and *Pfaff* occur side by side with the longer forms. *Pfaff* is essentially a South German word and probably lost its *e* under the influence of Southern dialects.

On the other hand, the old weak masculine nouns denoting *inanimate* objects, and also *Gemahl*, have almost invariably lost their *e* in the nominative singular and become strong, as *Blitz*, *Gemahl*, *Keim*, *Kern*, *Lenz*, *Mai*, *März*, *Schmerz*, etc; or they have introduced the *n* of the oblique cases into the nominative singular also and now add *s* in the genitive singular and must be considered strong: *Balken*, *Bogen*, *Brunnen*, *Galgen*, *Garten*, *Husten*, *Knochen*, *Magen*, *Rahmen*, *Schinken*, *Tropfen*, *Zapfen*, are instances.

c. Feminine nouns, whether originally weak or strong, i.e., no matter whether the *e* goes back to an *a* or *i*, usually preserve the *e*: *Gnade*, *Haube*, *Klage*, *Liebe*, *Nase*, *Gabe*, *Güte*, etc.; yet in a number of them also it has been dropped: *Acht*, *Furcht*, *Hut*, *Rast*, *Rost*, *Schlacht*, *Wacht*, (*Feier*), (*Form*), *Huld*, *Mark*, (*Mauer*), (*Pein*), (*Scheuer*), *Schmach* (*Zier*). Those in parenthesis probably lost it because their stem ends in *n*, *r*, *m*, after which *e* dropped quite generally. Almost all the others admit of no plural, and, there being no inflection in the feminine singular, were dissociated from the weak feminines, for in Nhg. all feminines in *-e* are weak.

d. Not only has the *e* been kept as a sign of the weak declension in masculines and feminines, it has also been added as a sign of the plural in a number of neuter nouns which in Mhg. did not distinguish the plural from the singular: *Brot, Haar, Jahr, Pferd, Roß, Schaf, Spiel, Tier, Werk*, etc.

Similarly also in a number of feminines *e* is added in the singular; such are: *Ehe, Kehle, Krähe, Mähne, Mühle, Schale, Sohle, Waare*, and a few less common ones. But there is reason to suspect that these additions, plainly serving grammatical purposes, were not a spontaneous development, but deliberate innovations of Southern grammarians, who, aware that the dialects had a tendency to drop the *e* even where it might serve a useful purpose, not only restored it in such cases, but introduced it also where it had never been and where there was no call for it. Thus we find in early Nhg. even such forms as *kälbere, kindere*, and strong preterites like *fande, schufe, stunde*, and others.

e. Neuter collectives — and nouns similarly formed — with the prefix *ge-* and originally ending in *-e*, usually follow the general rule under (b): *Gebiet, Gebüsch, Gedicht, Gehölz, Gepäck, Geschirr, Gewächs, Gestirn*, etc., drop the *e*; *Gesinde, Getriebe*, etc., keep it. Many deverbatives either have or do not have the *-e*; usually forms with *-e* have derogatory meaning: *Geschrei: Geschreie, Gesang: Gesinge*, and others.

f. While *e* is regularly kept and sometimes introduced as a sign of the nominative plural, the old Mhg. rule, according to which it was dropped after *-el -em -en -er*, prevailed in a number of feminine nouns in the singular,

and in a number of masculine and neuter nouns in the plural. Instances of feminines of this kind are *Nadel*, *Feder*, *Tafel*; of masculines and neuters: *Deckel*, *Engel*, *Segel*, *Degen*, *Eber*, *Messer*, which lost an older *e* of the plural.

g. Masculines and neuters in *-el*, *-en*, *-er*, and also diminutives in *-chen* and *-lein*, do not take the *e* in the dative singular, rarely those in *-icht* *-ing* *-ling* *-sal* *-tum*; in general, nouns of one syllable are more likely to have it, nouns of more than one usually drop it. In regard to monosyllables usage is not at all settled in this respect. Retention or omission depends much upon the rhythm. Similarly, in the genitive singular of strong nouns the *e* of the ending *-es* is usually dropped if the *s* readily unites with the stem of the noun, but is kept if it does not; so we regularly have the ending *-es* after stems in *s*, *sch*, *z*, and usually also after stems in *d* and *g*: *des Fisches*, *Tanzes*, *Grases*, *Standes*, *Fluges*, etc. In adverbs of similar formation it is omitted: *flugs*, *längs*, and others.

h. Also in the conjugation of the verb Nhg. shows in general a tendency to drop the *e* in inflectional endings of the indicative, except where the personal endings do not readily unite with the stem without the *e*. Thus *e* has disappeared in the second and third person singular present of strong verbs: *du schreibst*, *er schreibt*. To distinguish the second person from the third, it is usually retained after stems in *s* or *sch*: *du issest*, also *liesest*, *fischest*; but also *du ißt*, *liest*, *fischt* are found in writing and often heard. Also in the second and third person present of weak verbs the *e* is dropped except after stems in *d* or *t* or a sibilant: *du redest*, *er betet*, *du haschest*, but

also *du hascht* is found. Strong verbs in *d*, *t*, if they change the stem vowel from *a* > *ä* or from *e* > *i*, drop the *e* in the second and third person singular: *du trittst*, *lädst*, etc.

i. In a few instances, on the other hand, *e* is found in Nhg. where it did not appear in Mhg. It has been restored, by analogy to the large majority of other verbs, in the first person singular of verbs whose stem had a short vowel and ended in *l* or *r*: Mhg. *ich vār*, *ich māl*; Nhg. *ich fahre*, *ich mahle*, etc. Moreover the *e* does not belong in the imperative second singular of strong verbs, as it is still wanting in *nimm*, *lies*, *helf*, and others changing the *e* of the infinitive stem to *i* in the imperative. Mhg. began to add the *e* of the imperative of weak verbs to strong verbs generally, though forms without *e* prevailed. In Nhg. *e* is, if not the rule, allowable in all imperatives of the second person, except those mentioned before.

j. There is some wavering with regard to the dropping or retaining of the *e* in inflected adjectives in *-er* *-el* and *-en*, but usually the first *e*, that of the derivative suffix, is dropped, and the one of the declension ending is kept: *edle*, *beßre* or *bessere*, *heitre*, *eignem*; in older writers, early in the last century, the inflectional *e* was apt to disappear before a final *n* or *m*: *heiterm*, *edeln*, etc.

CHAPTER III

THE PARTS OF SPEECH OR CLASSES OF WORDS AND THEIR VARIATIONS

§ 94. **Classification more or less Arbitrary.** By an unconscious process of analysis human speech is divided into words. This division is more or less arbitrary. The German feels *aufstehen* as one word, though not quite as closely knit as *verstehen*, while in English we feel *get up* as two. Similarly we write *housetop* as one word, but *barn door* as two.

Somewhat arbitrary also is our system of grouping words into categories commonly called parts of speech. A little reflection will make it appear that often nothing like sharp lines can be drawn between the various classes of words. Is *God* a noun or an interjection in: *We must expect to pay for our extravagant enthusiasm for sport and speed; but, God! what a price we paid!*

It has long been customary to distinguish nine or ten different parts of speech: verb, noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, article, adverb, conjunction, preposition, and particle (including the interjection). And though the lines between them cannot always be sharply drawn and it often is almost impossible to formulate definitions that will exactly cover their meaning, yet these classes are by nature and function so distinct that even children and unlearned speakers have a pretty sure instinct for their

limits, though they may be wholly ignorant of their names. Of verbs they make tenses, etc., adjectives and adverbs they compare; unconsciously they use each for the various purposes for which it is usually employed. The reliableness of this feeling is important; for upon it depend not only, in a large measure, the facility with which a child learns the language, but also much of the growth and the change of the language itself. It is the fundamental fact in all word formation.

A. WORD FORMATION

§ 95. **Derivative Elements: Suffix, Prefix.** In looking at certain groups of words in any language, we can readily distinguish some as primitive words, others as derivatives. *Manly, womanly, scholarly, worldly, heavenly, deadly, lively*, plainly consist of two elements. The one we call the stem, the other the derivative ending or suffix. Again, in *mistake, misunderstand, misinterpret, mislead, outnumber, outrun*, we recognize *mis-* and *out-* as prefixes and the other parts as stems. New words may be made by means of suffixes and of prefixes, or both.

§ 96. **Obscured Suffixes and Prefixes.** Often suffixes as well as prefixes are no longer recognized as such and can then no longer be used in the formation of new words. They are then said to be dead. A live prefix is plainly recognized both as to its form and its customary function and is therefore likely to be used with the same function in new combinations, as if one were to form *miswrite, miswalk, or outwrite, outweep*. Today no one recognizes *Freund, Feind*, as to stems and formative endings. A

little more plainly it could be seen in Gothic, where we have, alongside with *fjonds*, *frijonds*, the verbs *fjon*, *frijon*, to hate, to love. But even in Gothic, the ending, though at that time still used in the formation of the present participle, was not alive or productive as a suffix for the formation of nouns, and it is doubtful whether the Goth recognized the *fjonds* as the one hating, and the *frijonds* as the one loving, just as we only upon reflection connect *Eltern* with *alt*. Similarly, the English *dream*, German *Traum*, also *team* and *Zaum*, the ordinary speaker takes for simple, primitive words; only the philologist trained in the history of the language makes bold to resolve them into stems and an *-m* suffix, *dream* and *Traum* probably being related to the German *trügen*; *team* and *Zaum* to the German *ziehen*, *Zug*, etc.

Quite similarly, prefixes also may become obscure, as in German *glauben*, *gleiten*, *bleiben*, from earlier *ge-lauben*, *ge-leiten*, *be-leiben*, etc.

§ 97. **Origin of Prefixes and Suffixes.** Of many prefixes and suffixes we know that in some more or less distant past they were independent words with their own meaning. As such they were compounded with other words, and in growing together with them, they often changed their form to such an extent, that they can no longer be associated with the words with which they were once identical. Our German and English prefix *be-* was once identical with the adverb or preposition *bei*, *by*.

In a number of other instances, the words from which the suffixes and prefixes developed died out as independent words and continue their existence, often more or less changed, in prefixes or suffixes only. Thus the

present German suffix *-heit*, English *-head -hood*, had once its independent existence and meant "quality": *Schönheit*: the beautiful quality, etc. The German suffix *-lich*, English *-ly*, is equivalent to the English word *like*, German *gleich*, and originally denoted similarity. In its independent function the word has changed both its meaning and its form, and the ordinary consciousness does not recognize that at one time the suffix *-ly*, *-lich*, and the adjective *like*, *gleich*, were identical (but see § 189).

While it is not possible in every case to trace a prefix or suffix used in derivation back to some independent word, we are able to do so in many instances, and the view is quite common that in the last analysis all prefixes and suffixes were words.

On the other hand, not until one of the component words had sufficiently lost color and distinctness to allow the compound to be felt as one indivisible word, could the derivative serve as a model after which new words could be made. As long as *Schön-heit* meant beautiful quality, it was sterile for the development of the language. Not until it developed its meaning to "beauty" did it become fruitful, and also *Klugheit*, *Weisheit*, *Reinheit*, *Feinheit*, and a multitude of others could be made.

§ 98. Development of Derivative Elements. If a suffix could be added to a simple stem only, it would, as a rule, probably not be difficult to determine where the stem ends and where the suffix begins. But also from words, in themselves derivatives, new derivatives can be made. The suffix *-en*, just as in English, is used to make verbs from adjectives: *wide: widen; weit: weiten; stark: stärken*;

hart: härten. Similarly it is also combined with adjectives such as *kräftig*, *nötig*, and others, in which the *-ig* is a suffix. But in such cases the ordinary consciousness is not clear whether we have to do with a suffix *-en* and a derivative from *kräftig*, or with a suffix *-igen* and a derivative from *Kraft*, the noun from which the suffix *-ig* formed the adjective *kräftig*. That for many the two suffixes have grown into one new one, appears from forms like *befriedigen*, *endigen*, *reinigen*, there being no adjectives like *friedig*, *reinig*, *endig* to which the *-en* could have been added. Often it is not possible to state with any certainty just what model form is at the basis of a new formation. Is *belästigen* from *lästig* or from *Last*? Judging from its meaning, parallel to *belasten*, one might think from *Last*; yet *nötigen* seems more naturally connected with *nötig* than with *Not*.

§ 99. **Internal Change of Stems Incident to Derivation: Gradation, Mutation, Breaking.** While in many derivatives the stem remains unchanged and prefixes and suffixes are the only formative elements, others show at the same time gradation or mutation or both in the stem. In the older periods of the language, there appeared also quite frequently the vowel change known as breaking. This is now confined to a few isolated forms, as *Gold: gûlden* for the more regular *golden*; *Erde: irdisch*. But gradation and mutation are still intact. Thus we have from the same stem as *treiben: Trieb, Frift*; from *klieben: Kluft, klaben*; from *biegen: Bucht, Bogen*; *liegen: Lage*; *stehen: Statt, Stätte*; *gut: Güte*; *binden: Band, Bund, Binde, Bündnis*.

The beginnings of the derivative type in which gradation is found must be very far back, in Idg. times if not

farther, for we cannot very well avoid the assumption that in these derivatives the vowel change known as gradation must have had the same causes and origin as elsewhere. But in time, here as in other relations and categories, — e.g., the tense system of the strong verb — both gradation and mutation, once meaningless, acquired a meaning and were then regarded essential in certain derivative types, long after the original causes that produced them had ceased to operate.

§ 100. Analogy the Underlying Principle of Derivation.

All derivatives are made after models. The underlying principle, at least the most potent factor in the entire process of derivation, is what we have learned to know as the working of analogy. Every new derivative, in order to be at all intelligible, must be readily associated with similar well-known derivatives. A child would not say: *I'll smallen my baseball bat*, if he did not familiarly know *shorten* from *short*, *widen* from *wide*, etc. This fact brings with it a number of limitations.

1. New derivatives can be made by analogy only with words belonging to the same category with them. The new verb “smallen” mentioned before presupposes other verbs of the same nature which can serve as models. That is, derivative verbs are the models of new derivative verbs; derivative nouns, models for new derivative nouns; adjectives for adjectives; adverbs for adverbs, etc.

2. In general, also, similar derivatives are made from words representing the same parts of speech; for instance, if one adjective by means of some suffix gives rise to a noun, it is most probable that there will be other adjectives from which similar nouns are made: — *bright*:

brightness; *small*: *smallness*; *black*: *blackness*, etc. It is quite possible that this adjective may itself be a derivative: *forgetful-ness*, *unlawful-ness*, etc. But sometimes the same suffix may be attached to different parts of speech, and yet the resultants may form a homogeneous group. The following adjectives in *-lich* are derived, some from nouns, some from adjectives, some from verbs: *glücklich*, *menschlich*; *kleinlich*, *reinlich*; *sterblich*, *löblich*.

It is probable that originally each suffix could be attached to only one part of speech. If its scope extended to other parts of speech also, this was occasioned probably by the inability of the popular consciousness to discern readily the parts of speech from which certain derivatives started. Thus it is not clearly apparent whether *käuflich* comes from *kaufen* or from *Kauf*; similar uncertainty is possible in case of *kläglich*, *glaublich*, *lieblich*, *eilig*. — How on account of such uncertainty new suffixes sometimes come into existence we saw in § 98.

§ 101. **Stem + Suffix = ?** A glance at but a few of the derivative words used in illustration in the preceding sections will show that the meaning of a derivative is often not apparent from the meaning of the stem and any one meaning of a suffix. If *steinigen* is made in analogy with *kräftigen*, its meaning ought to be, to make stony, or to supply with stone, because *kräftigen* means to make strong, to endow with strength. But *steinigen* means to stone, as *kreuzigen* means to crucify. Compare in this respect with *crucify* our *sanctify*, *verify*, and others. Of course, in these words the discrepancy goes back to Latin times.

Nevertheless, knowing the meaning of a few stems with a given suffix, one can in very many cases tell with a good deal of certainty the approximate meaning of similar derivatives from other stems. Thus both in English and in German the suffix *-ish -isch* often implies disapproval: *womanish, mannish, childish: weibisch, kindisch, tierisch, viehisch, hündisch*, etc.; yet no such implication is contained in many other words of the kind: *irdisch, malerisch, regnerisch* (notice the *-er-* in this word, probably in analogy with *malerisch*, etc.).

It is therefore well-nigh impossible to fix a simple meaning for any prefix or suffix, though we can come nearer to it in the case of some than of others.

I. Derivation of Verbs

1. BY SUFFIXES

A. *Strong Verbs*

§ 102. **Strong Verbs no longer a Live Group.** In some of our strong verbs only the comparative philologist can detect formative elements — aside from such as are used in the formation of the various parts and forms of the verb itself. When we have side by side with a noun *Spur* and a verb *spüren*, another verb *spornen* (Ohg. *spurnen*, and strong), we assume that in *spornen* we have an *n* added to the ordinary stem, an *n* which is found in a number of other verbs also. And similarly a number of other formative elements may be isolated, some of them more plainly perceptible in other Idg. languages. But these elements were in almost all cases early taken as parts of the stems, and as far back as we can go in

the history of the Idg. languages, they were no longer productive. That they must have been so at one time we infer from the comparative frequency with which they appear in various languages.

§ 103. **Importance of Strong Verbs in the Study of Word Formation.** While thus, in themselves, the strong verbs are unproductive, i.e., while no new strong verbs are made by analogy with the old ones from other parts of speech, yet for the study of word formation and of the processes of word formation probably no other class of words is of greater importance. For in the strong verb better than anywhere else the vowel differences due to gradation and other phonetic processes (as mutation and breaking) are transparent. While in words less closely related these differences would perhaps ultimately be great enough to obscure etymological relationship, the various forms of the verb are, in spite of all difference, recognized as of one stem. They also enable us to recognize as akin less closely related forms with similar differences.

Besides, a large number of words in the Germanic languages, adjectives, nouns, and derivative weak verbs, are related to one or the other form of various strong verbs, as *Bund*, *Band*, *Binde*, *Bande*, *Bündnis* to *binden*, though analogous derivation in this direction hardly occurs at present.

B. *Weak Verbs*

§ 104. **All Weak Verbs Derivatives.** With exceptions so few that they are for our purposes not worth considering, all weak verbs are derivatives, some, called

Deverbatives, from strong verbs; others, called Denominatives from nouns or adjectives; a few also from adverbs. In the majority of weak verbs the infinitive, and in general the forms of the present, are not at all distinct from those of many strong verbs,¹ and but for the formation of the past and the perfect participle they could hardly be distinguished from strong verbs, nor be plainly recognized as derivatives. But the infinitive ending *-en* as well as the other forms of the present and the past represent three distinct sets of older suffixes, Gothic *-jan*, *-ôn*, *-an*; Ohg. *-en*, *-ôn*, *-ên*; a fourth one, *-nan*, is found in Gothic only. Even in Mhg. these three endings had, through regular phonetic development, uniformly become *-en*, with the same value as in Modern German.

Another set of weak verbs show also today more clearly a derivative consonant before the ending: *bitten*: *betteln*, etc. Weak verbs in Modern German might therefore be divided in two groups: one without any clearly apparent derivative sign, and another with some derivative sign. In the following paragraphs we shall briefly mention, first weak verbs of the *-en* type, then those with distinct suffixes.

1. Weak Verbs in *-en*

§ 105. **Old Differences partly Reflected.** While the old *-ôn* and *-an* verbs became quite indistinguishable in Modern and even in Middle High German, the *-jan* verbs have for the most part remained separate from the others. This is largely due to the fact that the *j* of the suffix

¹ Strong verbs with *a* or *e* in the stem change the vowel in the second and third singular to *ä* or *i*: *sehe*: *siehst*; *falle*: *fällst*; weak verbs do not.

caused mutation and doubling of the end consonant of the stem. Besides, deverbatives in *-jan* show gradation as compared with the mother word, and most of them are deverbatives, usually with either causative or factitive meaning, often also with iterative or intensifying force.

a. *Deverbatives*. 1. Those in *-jan*. a. Causatives or Factitives. In so far as the *-jan* verbs were deverbatives, i.e., derived from strong verbs, usually the vowel of the past singular of the strong mother verb was the vowel of the new verb, far less commonly the vowel of the perfect participle. Wherever this was possible, the *j* of the suffix caused mutation of this vowel and doubling of the intervening consonant (West Germanic gemination). Moreover, the suffix *-jan* regularly had the chief stress, and we should therefore expect the changes due to Verner's Law, if the stem originally ended in a voiceless spirant and the derivation took place in the Germanic period when Verner's Law was still operative. The mutated form of the vowel of the past singular still regularly appears in deverbatives; the effects of the doubling of the consonant often; the change due to Verner's Law rarely. To illustrate: The past singular of the Gothic *sitjan*¹ was *sat*, the derivative, accordingly, *sat-jan*; the early form of mutated *a* was *e*, hence we have in Old Saxon *settean*, the *t* being doubled in West Germanic gemination. In the High German sound shift *tt* > *tz*, hence in Ohg. the form became *setzen* (*sezzen*). Gothic **sinþan*, past **sanþ*, derivative, showing Verner's Law, *sandjan* > Ohg. *senten* > Mhg. *senden*. Gothic *rinnan*, past *ran*, derivative *ranjan* > *rennen*. Similarly we have side by

¹ The *j* in this form is called a present suffix and has no derivative function.

side *trinken*: *tränken*, with the later form of the mutated *a*; *fallen*: *fällen*; *hangen*: *hängen*; *biegen*: (past Ohg. *bouc*) *beugen*; *stieben*: *stäuben*; *saugen*: *säugen*.

There were in the older dialects many more couplets of this kind than we have now. A number of them are formally still intact, but their meaning has grown so divergent that they are hardly recognized as belonging together; for example, *triefen*: *träufeln*; *singen*: *sengen*; *fahren*: *führen*; *genesen*: *nähren*, etc. In other cases, often owing to regular phonetic development or owing to similarity if not identity in form, one member of the couplet has fallen into disuse. This is the case, e.g., with *neigen*, representing Mgh. *nîgen* and *neigen*; *brennen*, representing older *brinnen* and *brennen*. In case of other couplets one member has been lost without transferring its function to its companion, e.g., *quälen*, *regen*; for *quälen* we have in Mhg. as companion the strong verb *queln*, to suffer; for *regen*, in Mgh. a strong verb *regen*, intransitive, meaning to move. Similarly we do not easily recognize *rinnen* and *rennen* as belonging together.

β. Intensives and Iteratives. The *-jan* verbs mentioned so far have been mostly causatives or factitives, denoting that the action expressed in the root verb is induced or occasioned. Many deverbatives with *-jan* have intensifying force, others are iteratives, suggesting that an action is repeated. From *beißen* we have *beizen*. The older form of *beißen* was *bîtan*, past *beit*. Add to this the suffix *-jan*: *beitjan*.¹ By West Germanic gemina-

¹ It may be noted here that in a number of verbs with this suffix, both deverbatives and denominatives, the older *t* is represented by *z* or *tz* even

tion *beitjan* > *beittjan*. In Ohg. *tt* > *z tz*, while simple *t* > *ß*, hence the difference in the consonants. In Nhg. *i* > *ei*, while the old *ei* remained, hence the sameness of the vowels. Other instances are *reißen: reizen; stechen: stecken; schneiden: schnitzen* (in which the effect of Verner's Law appears and the vowel of the perfect participle); *schleifen: schlüpfen* (also with the vowel of the past participle in the derivative).

2. Deverbatives in *-en*, not of the Old *-jan* Type. It must not be implied that all deverbatives in *-en* go back to the *-jan* type. The majority do; but also the other classes are represented in Modern German. They hardly need further mention, however, having nothing to distinguish them from each other and only the absence of mutation, etc., to distinguish them from a number of the old *-jan* verbs.

b. *Denominatives in -en*. Denominatives are weak verbs derived from adjectives or nouns (*nomen adjectivum, nomen substantivum*, hence the name). The three suffixes mentioned in connection with the deverbatives played their part also in the denominative formation and caused differences in the form of the stem. Particularly the absence or presence of mutation ultimately depends upon the question whether the verb had originally been associated with the *-jan* type or with one of the other two types. But it must be remembered that not every denominative with mutation originally had

after a long vowel or diphthong, following which the *t*, doubled in Wg. gemination, was regularly simplified and should have developed to *ß*; instances are *reizen, heizen, spreizen, beizen*, and a few others. Analogical influence is probably the cause of this irregularity.

itself the *-jan* suffix. For quite early mutation in the stem came to be considered not as a mere incident to the formation of denominatives of the *-jan* class only, but as one of the means for making denominatives generally. Hence mutation often crept in not only in the case of *-jan* derivatives originally not entitled to it because of preventing consonant combinations (*cht*, *chs*, also *l* + consonant), but also in the case of denominatives formed with one of the other suffixes.

Much less potent in the formation of kindred forms were the other phonetic differences in the stem due to the influence of the suffix, as, for example, the interchange between *e*: *i*, *u*: *o*, etc., which we have learned to know as breaking. We have, indeed, side by side *scheel*: *schieden*; *recht*: *richten*; *Feder*: *befiedert*; *schlicht* from older *schlecht*. (German *schlicht* was probably made by analogy with the form of the verb.) But this change of stem vowel did not become functional, i.e., was not regarded as a means for forming derivatives; and verbs now made from adjectives or nouns with the vowel *e* in the stem keep this *e*: *hell*: *erhellen*, *schnell*: *abschnellen*.

It would serve little purpose to enumerate any number of verbs of this type. In most cases where a verb is by its meaning and form connected with some adjective it is safe to say that the verb is the younger formation. Often this is also the case where a weak verb and a noun form a couplet. But sometimes, also, it is unavoidable to think that nouns were made from weak verbs. Such seem to be *Kauf*, *Saus*, *Braus*; nouns denoting instrument, such as *das Gewehr*, *das Steuer*; *die Klemme*, *die Labe*, *die Walze*, *die Salbe*, *die Wache*, and others. Also

quite a number of abstract nouns of various meanings are regarded as derivatives from weak verbs: *Unterricht*, *Brauch*, *Druck*, *Kauf*, *Spott*, *Geschmack*, *Schimpf*, *Gesuch*, and others.

In general it may be added, however, that the majority of denominative verbs in High German formerly belonged to the *-ôn* class, which, as time went on, gained ground over the *-jan* verbs, though under the influence of the latter mutation became quite common. And in High German, as compared with Gothic, also the third suffix, Gothic *-an*, Ohg. *-ên*, became quite productive. Many verbs belonging to the class distinguished by this suffix had inchoative meaning and now often have the prefix *-er*: *erkalten*, *erblinden*, *erbleichen*, etc.; some with *ver-*: *verstummen*, *verdummen*, etc.

§ 106. Formation of New Lines of Division in Nhg. In the regular course of development the various older endings uniformly acquired the form *-en*, and the earlier differences are reflected only in the absence or presence of mutation and a few other variations of the stems. In this difference the old *-jan* verbs stand as one class against the two other classes, which have become alike in every respect. This leveling has brought about in the consciousness of the speakers of German a new classification of weak verbs in *-en*. (1) As one class we may now group verbs, with or without gradation of the stem vowel, but always with mutation, alongside of mother words — or what commonly are felt as mother words — verbs, adjectives, or nouns, without mutation, such as *fallen*: *fällen*; *Hatz*: *hetzen*; *Schatz*: *schätzen*; *sitzen*: *setzen*; *Farbe*: *färben*, etc. (2) The class

formed in contrast with these are verbs without mutation, alongside of mother words with vowels capable of being mutated: *Ball: ballen; Knall: knallen; Spalt: spalten; wund: verwunden*, etc. (3) A third group would comprise weak verbs that can no longer be associated with any mother word, such as *wagen, ragen, verteidigen*, etc.; or verbs with stem vowels (*i, e, ei*) not capable of mutation or with vowels already mutated in the mother words, as *Mühe: bemühen; dünn: verdünnen; Feile: feilen*.

§ 107. **Meaning of the Derivatives in -en.** It is not possible to make any general statement as to the relation between the meaning of the derivative verb and that of the mother word. We have seen that the old *-jan* verbs, and hence also many verbs in Modern German having mutation, are usually transitive and have a sort of factitive or causative meaning: *fallen: fällen; Saum: säumen; Same: besämen*; others, we found, have iterative or intensifying force. For the rest, the weak verbs in *-en* stand in various relations to the root words: *Tafel: tafeln*, to eat; *Blut: bluten*, etc.

2. Weak Verbs with Distinct Suffixes

§ 108. **Distinct Suffixes becoming more Independent in Time.** The type of verb having some suffix, some distinct consonantal element preceding the inflectional endings, is found in all the periods of the language, from Gothic down. In almost every case these suffixes originally belonged to a noun or an adjective from which the verb was made. From *Schneider*, itself a derivative from *schneiden*, we have the new verb *schneidern*; from *Prügel*:

prügeln; from *heilig*, itself derived from *heil*, *heiligen*. The different endings of the weak verb, mentioned before, would be attached to these nouns or adjectives. But in some such way as indicated in § 98 the nominal and verbal suffixes, as for example *-er* and *-en*, coalesced into one, and then the new suffix *-ern* was used with more or less independence. This independence was acquired in historical times. In Gothic we can in most cases, if not always, find an adjective or noun with a suffix identical with that preceding the verbal ending.

a. Verbs in *-ern*

§ 109. Verbs in *-ern* as to their Origin. One of the most common suffixes of the kind mentioned is our *-ern*.

a. In many cases verbs having it are associated with nouns or adjectives in *-er*: *füttern*, *hämmern*, *lästern*; *ändern*, *läutern*, *säubern*, *verteuern*, and others. Often verbs made from such nouns or adjectives have mutation, as in the above instances; quite as commonly, however, the original vowel is kept: *ackern*, *ankern*, *hungern*, *abmagern*, etc.

b. In many other cases the verbs in *-ern* are associated with comparatives: *verbessern*, *verschlechtern*, *verlängern*, *verbreitern*, *vermindern*, and others. But comparatives of simple adjectives only, lend themselves to this formation and not all of them. We can say *verfeinern*, *verringern*, *bereichern*, etc., but no similar form can be made of *glatt*, *ganz*, *braun*, *blau*, *falsch*, *krumm*, and a number of others.

c. Similarly verbs in *-ern* are made from plural nouns in *-er*: *rädern*, *durchlöchern*, *blättern*, *zergliedern*, *begeistern*, and others, with or without prefix at the same time.

d. That the combination *-ern* was felt as a suffix becomes clearly apparent in a number of weak verbs derived from strong or other weak verbs by means of *-ern*. There were more of them in Ohg. and Mhg. than now, and quite a number of those remaining are not clearly felt as derivatives, because the mother word was lost to the language. Instances of these are *glitzern*, *schlenkern*, *zögern*, *flackern*, *schlottern*, *schaudern*, *stochern*, *schlummern*, *schillern*, *schimmern*, *zwinkern*, and some others. In case of others the relation is still tolerably apparent, as *blinkern*: *blinken*; *plätschern*: *platschen*; *flimmern*: *flammen*; *knappern*: *knappen*; *schillern*: *schie-len*; *räuchern*: *rauchen*; *steigern*: *steigen*.

e. Finally, there are a considerable number of verbs in *-ern* for which even in the older dialects no mother word can be found. Many of them seem to be onomatopoeitic formations, and it might be possible that they were made by analogy with such forms as *plätschern*, *blinkern*, *flimmern*. Instances are *flüstern*, *zwitschern*, *poltern*, *knuspern*, *plaudern*, *räuspern*, *schmettern*, *schnattern*, *klimpern*.

§ 110. **Meaning of the Suffix *-ern*.** It is not possible to assign any one meaning to the suffix.

a. The group derived from comparative adjectives have usually factitive meaning: *vergrößern*, *bereichern*, etc. In a large number of instances verbs from the positive stem of the same adjective exist also, often with slightly different meaning: *verengen*: *verengern*; *verschönen*: *verschönern*. Those from the comparative stem indicate a change in the direction toward the quality denoted in the adjective, they are imperfective; those of the positive denote accom-

plishment of such a change, they are perfective: *verschönern, schöner machen: verschöneren, schön machen*.

b. Another group, mostly derived from other verbs, has predominantly iterative force, denoting that an action is repeated in quick short succession: *glitzern, flickern*, and others. From these must have started the use of *-ern* in onomatopoetic words.

§ 111. **Form of the Stem of Verbs in *-ern*.** A glance at the verbs mentioned in the preceding section shows that in many of them the vowel of the stem is identical with that of the mother word; in others it is subject to mutation; in still others, derived from strong verbs, we find gradation.

b. Verbs in *-eln*

§ 112. **Verbs in *-eln* as to their Origin.** Verbs in *-eln* start from nouns which in older days had the suffix *-il* or *-al*, to which *-ôn* was added to make the verb. In time *-ilôn*, *-alôn* came to be felt as new suffixes. The twofold form is reflected in the absence or presence of mutation in the stem. But generally the verbs in *-eln* are without mutation. Many verbs found in the older periods are now lost, many others came in later.

a. Verbs associated with nouns in *-el*: *adeln, angeln, gaukeln, gurgeln, haspeln, hobeln, kugeln, nageln, runzeln, satteln, schaufeln*, and others. With mutation: *bemänteln, schnäbeln, verstümmeln*.

b. A few are formed from adjectives: *veredeln, vereiteln, verübeln*.

c. In time the suffix *-eln* was used to make new verbs even from other weak or strong verbs. Instances are

quite numerous. It is enough to mention only a few: *lächeln: lachen, schnitzeln: schnitzen: rütteln, zerrütten, hüsteln: husten, kränkeln: kranken, spötteln: spotten, streicheln: streichen, tänzeln: tanzen, klingeln: klingen, fälteln: falten.*

d. A goodly number of verbs in *-eln* found in Mhg. are no longer current; others stand alone, the mother word having been lost, or regular sound changes having caused the two to grow so far apart as to make it difficult to recognize relationship. Instances of such are: *rieseln, sudeln, sticheln, schmuggeln, blinzeln, prasseln, röcheln, schmeicheln, straucheln*, and others.

§ 113. **Meaning of the Verbs in *-eln*.** In verbs whose relation to nouns in *-el* is still felt, as in *prügeln, gurgeln, hobeln, gabeln, haspeln*, etc., it can hardly be said that the apparent ending *-eln* has any meaning save that of converting the noun into a verb. But where the suffix is used more independently, as in new verbs from other verbs, two general meanings, apparently attached to the suffix, can be recognized:

1. Many derivatives in *-eln* from verbs, but also some from adjectives, have iterative meaning (like those in *-ern*): *klingeln, hüsteln, kränkeln*.

2. Other verbs of this kind express that the action carried on lacks in energy, is, in a way, diminutive. Not infrequently this meaning combines with the iterative; sometimes also a derogatory tinge is added. Instances are: *hüsteln*, to have slight, repeated attacks of coughing; *zänkeln*, to be inclined to quarrel, to be nagging; *tänzeln*, to hop around; etc.

§ 114. **Form of the Stem.** Verbs in *-eln*, as those in *-ern*, sometimes show mutation, oftener they do not;

some show gradation as compared with the mother word, others do not.

c. Verbs in *-nen*

§ 115. **Not Productive.** All weak verbs in *-nen* still in use are derived from nouns or adjectives ending in *-en*, and we can therefore hardly speak of a suffix *-nen*: from *Regen*: *regnen*; from *Zeichen*: *zeichnen*; from *trocken*: *trocknen*. In Gothic and Ohg. a suffix *-inôn* became somewhat productive, but it has since fallen into disuse.

d. Verbs in *-sen*, *-schen*, *-zen*

§ 116. **Origin.** Starting again with verbs from nouns or adjectives in *-s*, the suffix *-isôn* acquired independence and is found in quite a number of verbs in the older dialects. In time it was weakened to *-sen*, with the collateral form *-schen*. As such it still exists, but in a few verbs only: *herrschen*, *feilschen*; *geizen* (from older *gêtesen*), *gleißen* (from older *glîchesen*), *grausen*.

The suffix *-zen* really goes back to Gothic *-atjan*, Ohg. *-azzen*, becoming later *-ezen* *-izen* and finally *-zen*. But it also is found in but few verbs, and most of them stand by themselves, the mother word having been lost or the relationship obscured: *lechzen*, *schnalzen*, *krächzen*: *kra-chen*; *mucksen*: *mucken*; *schluchzen*: *schlucken*; *schmatzen* (older *schmackezen*): *schmacken*, etc. In some cases, moreover, *-zen* has become *-sen*, as in *hopsen*, *mucksen*, and possibly *drucksen*, *klecksen*, and a few others. This may be due to the fact that in every case the stem ends in a voiceless stop consonant, after which the affricate *z* cannot be so easily pronounced.

e. Verbs in *-igen*

§ 117. **Pre-eminently Transitive Denominatives.** This suffix has been mentioned in the general discussion § 98. It started with verbs from nouns and adjectives in *-ig* and gained ground as time went on. From first to last it is chiefly used to make verbs from adjectives or nouns, though in not a few cases also weak verbs ending in *-en* substituted the longer suffix, and the shorter forms are now extinct or obsolete. Instances of these are: *huldigen*, *peinigen*, *sättigen*, *steinigen*, *befestigen*, *befriedigen*, and some others. In other cases the old and the new verbs still exist side by side: *ängstigen*: *ängsten*; *befehligen*: *befehlen*; *begnadigen*: *begnaden*; *beherzigen*: *beherzen*, etc.

A few verbs from nouns or adjectives ending in *-ig* may suffice as examples, to which we add a few others having no noun or adjective in *-ig* beside them: of the first, *heiligen*, *kräftigen*, *sündigen*, *demütigen*; of the others, *beerdigen*, *beseitigen*, *bescheinigen*, *beschönigen*, etc. It may be noted that the suffix *-igen* is never added to a word already having a suffix.

f. Verbs in *-ieren*

§ 118. **Of Foreign Origin.** The suffix *-ieren*, still having the chief stress, contrary to the German system of accentuation, is of Old French origin. Old French verbs in *-ier* (corresponding to modern French *-er*), coming into the language in the twelfth century, took the regular German infinitive ending *-en*, and the new suffix had its start. In Mhg. it gained ground rapidly, being attached also to a large number of verbs of really German origin.

Only a few of these still remain: *halbieren*, *hofieren*, *stolzieren*, *buchstabieren*, *gastieren*, *hausieren*, *lautieren*, *glasieren*, *schattieren*. But for verbs of foreign origin *-ieren* is the regular suffix.

g. Verbs in *-isieren*

§ 119. Corresponds to English *-ize*. Verbs in *-isieren* are regularly of foreign origin and not as numerous nor as productive in German as the suffix *-ize* in English, which is probably of the same origin. The ending started with verbs taken over from the Greek, ending in *-ιζω* (*izô*). Instances are *tyrannisieren*, *modernisieren*, *victorisieren* (*Wallenstein*), and others.

2. DERIVATION BY PREFIXES

§ 120. Verbs Derived by Prefix really Compounds. Historically it would probably be as well to speak of verbs with prefixes as compounds. For there is good reason for thinking that not only the prefixes still current as independent words, but also those now used as prefixes only had once independent existence. They are now all more or less clearly derivative elements, though less so than most suffixes. Particularly the verbs known as separable verbs still have quite completely the nature of compounds.

§ 121. Scarcity of Compound Verbs. Compared with the endless possibility of making compound nouns, the limitation of the verb in this direction might seem surprising. For not only adverbs of various kinds, but also nouns and pronouns in numerous relations are used to modify verbs in the sentence; and if the verb had grown

together with its modifiers, as did the noun in so many instances, we might have compound verbs in great variety. That the verb did not so freely enter into composition is due to the fact that its position relative to its modifiers is much less firmly fixed than that of the noun in its group. Composition springs from the habitual juxtaposition of two words and the consequent subordination of one word to the other. On account of the shifting of the finite verb under different conditions from one place to another, its modifiers better maintained their independence, and composition was avoided.

1. *Separable Compounds*

§ 122. **Adverbs as Prefixes.** In separable compound verbs the first part is most often a simple, sometimes a compound adverb. But also nouns and adjectives, usually only monosyllables, enter into composition with verbs. The most common adverbs used for this purpose are *ab, an, durch, hinter, mit, nach, vor, wider*, all of them used since Gothic times. Later came in *auf, aus, bei, gegen, ob, zu; inne, nieder, dar, her, hin, heim, ein*, and *fort*; also *wohl, weg, fehl*. Most of these particles continue their independent existence in the function of adverbs or prepositions. Particularly *her* and *hin* often enter into composition with many of them: *hinaus, heraus, hinab, herab*, etc. Other common compound separable prefixes are *vorher, umher, empor, entgegen, entzwei, zurück, zusammen, überein, aneinander, hinweg*.

By far the most of these prefixes have local significance. Little need be said about them, because even in composition they keep their own meaning, though it is possibly

weakened somewhat, or rather, prefix and verb form a new unit somewhat more closely knit than the ordinary group of adverb and verb. Compare: *vorhersagen* = prophesy, *vorher sagen*, to say before; *zusammenkommen*, to gather, *zusammen kommen*, to come at the same time.

§ 123. **Adjectives as Prefixes.** Adjectives entering into composition with verbs are usually attributes to the object of the verb: *ich schätze ihn hoch, wert*; *ich mache die Botschaft kund*, etc. Common other compounds of this sort are *feilhalten*, *freilassen*, *freimachen*, *freigeben*, *freistellen*; *gutheißen*, *gutsagen*, *gutmachen*; *losgeben*, *loskaufen*, *lossagen*, etc. In intransitives the relation of the adjective prefix is different: *festsitzen*, *stillstehen*, *losgehen*, *großsprechen*, and others.

§ 124. **Nouns as Prefixes.** Nouns entering into similar composition are not capitalized. But many nouns not written together with the verb, though in no different relation, keep their capital. Nor is usage quite settled as to when a noun is to be regarded as a verbal prefix, when as the object of the verb. Common compounds are: *achtgeben*, *wahrnehmen*, *haushalten*, *preisgeben*, *standhalten*, *stattfinden*, *statthaben*, *stattgeben*, *teilnehmen*; also: *das soll mich wunder nehmen*; *in acht nehmen*, *außer acht lassen*, *imstande sein*, *von statten gehen*, *zu statten kommen*, *zu teil werden*. In these combinations the nouns are not capitalized, and some of them are written together with the prepositions. Similarly, adjectives used as nouns in a number of combinations do not take the capital: *zu gute halten*, *beim alten bleiben*, *im argen liegen*, *zum besten geben*, *ins klare*, *ins reine kommen*, *im trüben fischen*, etc. But other nouns or substantive adjectives

tives, though used in the same way, are capitalized; cp. *standhalten: Frieden halten; stattfinden: Ruhe finden, Ruhe geben*, etc.

The inconsistency with regard to the use of capitals in such combinations is of late origin; *stattfinden*, and the rest, used to be separated and the noun capitalized, particularly if separated from the verb: *Der Verkauf findet Statt*.

§ 125. **English Usage.** In English we do not regard similar, though equally close combinations as compounds: *The sale takes place; he comes in*. This is no doubt due to the fact that in English the modifying noun or adverb never stands directly before the verb. We are therefore apt to think that in German, too, there is little reason for writing the two parts together as compounds. That they are felt as belonging together appears from the fact that we have as nouns not only such infinitive nouns as *das Zustandekommen*, but also *die Liebhaberei*, which presupposes a closely knit form *liebhaben*.

2. Inseparable Prefixes

§ 126. **Nature of the Inseparable Compounds.** In inseparable compound verbs the first part has in most cases lost its independence, and the so-called compound verb has far more the nature of a derivative than of a compound. Yet there is little doubt that at one time these prefixes, too, were independent words, much the same as *voll* in *vollenden*, English *fulfil*, is to this day.

a. Particles as Prefixes

§ 127. **Nature of Particle Prefixes.** The particles used as separable prefixes are *be-*, *ent-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *ver-*, *zer-*, and

miß-, the last originally an adjective. As long as any one of these particles and a verb formed a real *compound*, similar to *eingehen*, *aufstehen*, etc., the meaning of the compound was essentially the sum of the component elements. But when the first element degenerated into a prefix, it became often a mere means of making new verbs in analogy with others already existing; and in almost all cases a good deal of its original well-defined meaning was lost. In the following paragraphs some of the more apparent present meanings of the prefixes will be enumerated. The most accessible comprehensive treatment of the whole subject is found in Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. II.

be-

§ 128. **Origin and Meaning of be-**. The particle is identical with the preposition *bei*, and some local coloring in verbs compounded with it can often still be discerned. In almost all cases verbs with *be-* are transitive, at least they are construed with an accusative, which was originally probably the object of the preposition *be-* (*bei*), construed with the accusative as well as with the dative. It had the general meaning around, about, by, and with a little stretching of the imagination something of this meaning can still be seen in a number of verbs: *besehen*, to look from all sides, to inspect; *bedrängen*, to crowd in from all sides; similarly *bebinden*, *begürten*, *bewinden*, *bekleben*, and others. But the local significance has virtually been obliterated, and definite meaning cannot always, indeed can rarely be assigned to the prefix.

§ 129. **be- with Simple Verbs.** To state that *be-* makes transitives of intransitives does not really give the meaning of the prefix. Nor are all of these transitives in the same relation to the mother words; compare: *Sie beweint den Unfall*, she is weeping because of the misfortune; similarly, *beklagen*, *belachen*, *bereuen*. But, *die Sonne bescheint Gut und Böse*, the sun shines upon the good and the evil; similarly, *befallen*, *berennen*, *begießen*, etc. Still other relations we have in *beschreiben*, *besingen*, *besprechen*, etc.

A number of verbs with *be-* denote in themselves, without the prefix, separation or deprivation of something: *berauben*, *bestehlen*, *betrügen*, and a few others. These are probably the models for a similar small group of verbs with *be-* made from nouns: *beholzen*, *begrasen*, *berahmen*. More commonly they take the separable prefix *ab-*.

§ 130. **be- with Adjectives.** Verbs are made from adjectives by prefixing *be-* and adding the conjugational endings; more often the suffix *-igen* is added. These verbs are factitive, denoting that their object is endowed with the quality designated by the adjective: *feucht: befeuchten*; *frei: befreien*; *fähig: befähigen*; similarly, *beschleunigen*, *besänftigen*, and others. In a number of instances the old adjective is no longer extant or has quite changed its meaning: *beleidigen*, *beschäftigen* (cp. *geschäftig*), *bestätigen*.

§ 131. **be- with Verbs from Nouns.** Most of the verbs of this group denote that some person or thing is endowed with the object or quality denoted by the noun: *beflügeln*, *beglücken*, *benennen*, *beflecken*, *beleben*, *beseelen*, *beschlei-*

ern, and many others. A number of these also end in *-igen*: *bekreuzigen*, *belästigen*, *bevollmächtigen*, etc.

§ 132. **be- with Intransitives.** Intransitives with *be-* are few: *bleiben* (< *be-lîben*), *beharren*, *bestehen*, *behagen*, *bekommen*. Besides, there are some reflexive verbs: *bedenken*, *besinnen*, *beschäftigen*, *behelfen*, *befinden*, *befleißigen*, and a few others.

er-

§ 133. **Origin and General Meaning.** The prefix *er-*, one of the most common, and still productive, is identical with the Gothic preposition *ûs*, Ohg. *ar- er- ir-*. In the accented prefix of some nouns it has the form *ur-*: *Urteil*, *Urlaub*, *Ursprung*, *Urkunde*, *Ursache*, *Urheber*, *Urfehde*. It denoted direction away from something, particularly from within outward and from below upward. In the older stages, verbs in which the original meaning of the particle could still plainly be felt, were quite frequent. In Modern German they are not so numerous, nor so plain. To the meaning from within outward, possibly, point *erweisen*, *erzeigen*, *ergießen*; upward: *erbauen*, *errichten*, *erheben*, *erhöhen*, *erstehen*, *ersteigen*, *erhängen*, *ersprießen*, and a few others. Early the idea "out to the end" became attached to the prefix, and this is still seen in many verbs: *erdulden*, *erleiden*, *ertragen*, *ergründen*, *ermessen*, *erfüllen*, *erschöpfen*. But in really local relations the place of the particle is now taken by the separable *aus-*, *auf-*.

The prefix *er-* is now fruitful particularly in two meanings. (1) It is used to make inchoative or ingressive verbs, denoting that the subject is entering upon the

action expressed in the verb, like *erblühen*, *erwachen*, *erwarmen*, etc. (2) It is used to make perfective or egressive verbs, denoting that the action is carried out to the end: *erwachsen*, *ersteigen* (cp. *besteigen*).

§ 134. **er- with Inchoatives.** Inchoatives as a group could easily start from certain verbs compounded with *er-*, such as *erscheinen*, originally meaning something like *hervorscheinen*, to come out into view. Common examples of inchoatives, both transitive and intransitive, some from verbs, many others derived from adjectives, and a few from nouns, are: *erklingen*, *erzittern*, *erbeben*, *erschrecken*, *erglimmen*, *erblühen*; *erbleichen*, *erblinden*, *erkalten*, *erwarmen*, *ergrauen*, *erkranken*; *erfüllen*, *erfreuen*, *erleuchten*, *erfrischen*, etc. Many similar inchoatives with *er-* of older times have now rather *ent-* or *ver-*, some also the separable *auf-*.

§ 135. **er- with Perfective Meaning.** In this group belong a number of verbs which we now no longer clearly feel as perfective. Such are *erlangen*, originally meaning to manage to reach; similarly, *erreichen*, *erkennen*, *ergreifen*, and others. But many others, in contrast with the simple verbs, are quite distinct: *erklimmen*, *erjagen*, *erfragen*, *erlaufen*, *ersterben*.

In many instances a collateral indication of advantage or interest on the part of the subject is contained in perfectives with *er-*; so often in *erfragen*, *erforschen*, *erfrischen*, *ermuntern*, etc.

In still another group, of which *erfrieren*, *ersaufen*, *ertrinken*, *erhängen*, may serve as types, the collateral idea of perishing, destroying is prominent. Other instances are *erblassen*, *ermatten*, *erliegen*.

§ 136. **er-** with Varying Meanings. *er-* is used with a considerable number of verbs, mostly denominatives, which have neither inchoative nor perfective meaning; instances are: *ergeben*, *ergehen*, *erheben*, *erlassen*, *erlauben*, *ersuchen*, and several others.

ge-

§ 137. **Earlier Use and Meaning.** In the older stages of the language *ge-* was used very much more commonly with verbs than now. It is supposed to be a cognate form of the Latin *co-*, *con*, and in some verbs, but more commonly with nouns, it still denotes a sort of association, a being or working together: *gerinnen*, to run together, to curdle; *gefrieren*, to freeze together. In collective nouns, as *Gebirge*, *Gewässer*, and in nouns such as *Geplapper*, *Gerede*, the old meaning can still be felt.

But this meaning very early became subordinate, and in Old and Middle High German, where the particle was still freely used, it is often hard to find any real difference between verbs with it and verbs without it.

§ 138. **Sign of Perfectivity.** Early, however, especially in Gothic, the particle acquired, pre-eminently before all others; the function of making verbs perfective (egressive), i.e., to indicate that the action is carried to the end. It could thus be used in the present and past as well as with the perfect participle. But even in Gothic, the perfect participle and the past were more apt to take it, an indication that the meaning of the particle was undergoing a change. As a perfective particle it designated the action as reaching the point of completion and was as such at least not less in place with present verbs than

with verbs in the past. But the point of completion is preceded by action, and in favoring the use of *ge-* with the past and perfect participle speakers show that their point of view was shifting from the one phase to the other. Modality had once more been confused with tense, as supposedly had been the case centuries before in the ancestral language.

§ 139. **Augment of the Perfect Participle.** As the particle *ge-* became more and more prominent as the sign of the past participle, it lost its real perfective function. But that a vestige of its old meaning may have been felt for centuries becomes apparent from the pertinacity with which certain verbs, perfective in themselves, refused to admit the *ge-* in the participle, *kommen*, *bringen*, *finden*, *treffen*, e.g., to the threshold of Nhg.; *worden* (an ingressive) is still used without it in the perfect and pluperfect passive. Also verbs with other prefixes, many of which have some perfective force, do not take *ge-* in the participle. Perfectivity, in so far as any feeling for it is still alive, is now expressed by means of other prefixes, particularly *er-*, *ver-*, and *aus-*.

§ 140. ***ge-* Meaningless in Modern German.** Few verbs still have the prefix *ge-*, and in but few of them can any real meaning be assigned to the prefix in itself, though usually, where the simple verb exists alongside of the one with *ge-*, a decided difference in meaning can be observed: *bieten*: *gebieten*; *loben*: *geloben*; *fallen*: *gefallen*. In fact, we hardly feel that the simple verb and the compound are related. The compound has in the course of time developed its own peculiar meaning. In

other instances no simple verb exists alongside of the compound: *glauben* (<*ge-lauben*), *genesen*, *gebären*, *gelingen*, *genießen*, *geschehen*, and others.

ver-

§ 141. **ver-** Representing three Older Particles. Through loss of stress three older particles, Gothic *faur-*, *fair-*, *fra-*, each with distinct meaning, coalesced in our *ver-*. *faur-* was equivalent in meaning to our *vor-*: *vorlegen*, *vorsetzen*; but it also came close to *vorbei-*. *fra-* with verbs of motion denoted removal, separation, away from, something like *ver-* in *verlaufen* in *die Flut hat sich verlaufen*. With *fair-* not much definite meaning could be connected in Gothic.

§ 142. **The Three Confused in Modern German.** It is of little use to attempt tracing our *ver-* in any given case to one of the Gothic prototypes. But it is plain why so many widely different meanings have developed for the particle, even when used with the same verb: *Die Flut hat sich verlaufen*: *das Kind hat sich verlaufen*. *Das Wort ist verschrieben*: *die Tinte ist verschrieben*.

§ 143. **ver-** Denoting to Miss the Aim. The meaning of certain words connected with *ver-* gave coloring to the prefix, and with this new coloring it was used in connection with other verbs. Thus *verlaufen* in *ich habe mich verlaufen* may have meant *ich habe mich* [vom Wege] *fort gelaufen*. Readily it would acquire the meaning, I have missed my aim in walking; and in this more general meaning it could appropriately be connected also with *schreiben*, *sprechen*, *sehen*, and others. This became a very fruitful group.

§ 144. *ver-* Denoting Exhaustion of Resources. From a combination *die Flut ist verlaufen* or *hat sich verlaufen*, meaning it has run past, could easily arise the meaning, it has spent itself, is exhausted; so that transitive verbs of this type became numerous: *verbrauchen*, *verschwenden*, *verleben*, *verzehren*, *verschlafen*, *verbummeln*, etc.

§ 145. *ver-* Denoting Destruction, Injury. From a combination like *das Feuer verzehrt die Ernte*, denoting exhaustion, easily arose the feeling of destruction, injury, which is prominent in many verbs with *ver-*: *verdammen*, *verurteilen*, *vertilgen*, *verschwenden*, *verderben*, *vergiften*, *verfluchen*, etc.

§ 146. *ver-* Denoting to Cover, Prevent, Protect, Provide. It is not a far step from *eine Schuld verschweigen*, for example, in the sense of annulling a guilt by keeping silent, to "hiding the guilt." Possibly from some such form starts the group designated in the heading of this paragraph, though nothing whatever is intended to be conveyed as to the priority of the various groups. Instances are: *verdecken*, *verhehlen*, *verhüllen*, *verbergen*, *verschütten*, *versperren*, *verrammeln*, *verschließen*; *vermeiden*, *verstopfen*, *verhüten*; *vertreten*, *verteidigen*, *verantworten*, *verbürgen*, *vermauern*, *verschleiern*, *verkleiden*, etc. Verbs with *ver-* of this class usually show rather plainly the purpose of protecting, hiding, on the part of the subject. Cp. *bekleiden* or *kleiden*, to clothe, *verkleiden*, to disguise; *beschleiern*, to provide with a veil, *verschleiern*, to veil, to disguise, to cover up.

§ 147. *ver-* Compounds, Opposites of Simple Verbs, are few; *achten*: *verachten*; *kennen*: *verkennen*; *leiten*: *verleiten*; *führen*: *verführen*, come close to this category.

zer-

§ 148. **General Meaning.** Little need be said about *zer-*. It seems originally to have had merely intensifying force, vestiges of which might still be seen in some couplets like *reißen: zerreißen*. But from connection with verbs denoting separation, destruction, this meaning was conveyed to the particle, and while with verbs having that meaning in themselves it denotes that the work is done thoroughly, as in *zerreißen, zerbrechen, zerstören, zertrümmern*, it adds this meaning to others that do not in themselves have it: *zerlesen, zerrutschen, zersitzen*, etc., to wear out by reading, sliding, sitting, etc.

ent- (emp- before f)

§ 149. **Representing two Particles.** In the prefix *ent-*, assimilated before words beginning with *f* to *emp-*, probably two older prefixes have coalesced, one whose Ohg. form is *int-* or where accented, as in noun forms, *ant-* (*Antwort, Antlitz*). This *int-* (*ant-*) corresponds to Latin and Greek *anti* and meant 'against.' The other prefix was in Ohg. *in-*, corresponding to our preposition *in*. From such combinations as *in-tratan*, to become frightened (corresponding to the English *dread*), or in some other way, confusion may have arisen. Besides, the form *in-* never was very fruitful in composition. At any rate, *int-*, later *ent-*, took its place. Today it is no longer possible always definitely to say whether the prefix in a given case goes back to *int-* or *in-*, unless the same verb happens to be extant in Ohg. or Gothic. The chief groups formed by the prefix follow.

§ 150. **ent-** as **Inchoative Prefix**. It seems probable that in this function *ent-* represents largely the older *in-*, though quite a number of verbs have entered into composition with *ent-* since it took the place of *in-*. Instances are *entbrennen*, *entzünden*, *entschlafen*, *entfachen*, *entflammen*, *entschlummern*, and others less common.

§ 151. **ent-** **Denoting Separation**. Many verbs with *ent-* denote separation, some in themselves, others only when prefixed with *ent-*. Probably in connection with some verb where the prefix originally had its concrete local meaning (against, toward), confusion arose, much the same as in the case of German *widerhallen*, which means as much to sound back to the starting point of the sound as to sound back from the point where the sound is broken. At any rate, the idea of separation became attached to *ent-*, and with this meaning it is connected with many verbs: *entfliehen*, *entlaufen*, *entkommen*, *entfernen*, *entnehmen*, *entziehen*; often source is denoted: *entspringen*, *entkeimen*, *entsprießen*, etc.

§ 152. **ent-** **Denoting Deprivation**. From verbs of separation easily the idea of deprivation could arise, as: *des Amtes entsetzen*. A fruitful group of words with this meaning arose, including many derivatives from nouns, the opposites of corresponding denominatives with *be-*: *bekleiden*: *entkleiden*; *beseelen*: *entseelen*; similarly, *entehren*, *entwaffnen*, *enthaupten*, and many others.

§ 153. **ent-** **Opposite of Simple Verb**. Side by side with *entkleiden* we have as the opposite the simple verb *kleiden*. There is a similar relation between compounds with *ent-* and many simple verbs: *enthüllen*, *entladen*, *entfalten*, *entrollen*, *entwirren*, *entwaffnen*, and others. Many

can be put in this group as well as in the one mentioned in § 152. Derivatives from adjectives are rare: *entheiligen*, *entmutigen*, *entwürdigen*. In a few cases derivatives are made from nouns as if they had been adjectives: *entmannen*, to deprive of the quality of a man; similarly, *entjungfern*, *entmenschen*.

miß-

§ 154. **General Meaning.** *Miß-* is an old adjective. It is identical with English *mis-* and has the same meaning, on the one hand denoting the opposite of the simple verb: *gefallen*: *mißfallen*, *gelingen*: *mißlingen*; on the other hand, failure, shortcoming, error: *mißdeuten*, *mißverstehen*.

§ 155. **Accent of miß-.** *Miß-* is peculiar in that it has no independent existence and yet is sometimes used as a separable prefix and has the chief stress. But as a rule this is the case only if *miß-* is prefixed to a verb having already some other prefix: *miß'behagen*, *miß'verstehen*, etc. In the participle and the infinitive also a number of simple verbs have a tendency to insert the *ge-* or the *zu* of the infinitive between *miß-* and the verb: *er hat meine Worte mißdeu'tet* or *miß'gedeutet*. Usage is quite unsettled in this respect.

b. Prepositions and *voll* as Inseparable Prefixes

§ 156. **Distinction from Similar Separate Prefixes.** The prepositions *durch*, *über*, *um*, *unter*, *wider*, and the adjective *voll* enter into composition with verbs as either separable or inseparable prefixes. If separable, the prefix has the chief stress; if inseparable, the chief stress lies

on the verb: *ü'bersetzen*, to set, ferry across; *ü'berse'tzen*, to translate. *Hinter* is used as an inseparable prefix only, *dahinter* taking its place in separable compounds.

In separable compounds usually the prefix and the verb retain their natural meaning almost intact: *ü'ber-setzen*, *ein'gehen*, *durch'laufen*, etc. Often this is the case also in inseparable compounds: *umse'geln*, *umkrei'sen*, *umströ'men*. But often the compound shows little of the meaning either of the simple verb or of the particle, though in many cases it would not be difficult to trace the steps from a probable earlier stage, in which the prefix and the verb each had its own meaning, to the meaning finally developed; cp. *ü'berse'tzen*, to translate; *hinter-ge'hen*, to deceive; *hinterbrin'gen*, to tell secretly; *unterbrei'ten*, to propose; *vollbrin'gen*, to accomplish; *vollstre'cken*, to execute, etc.

II. Formation of Nouns

A. PRIMITIVES

§ 157. **General Remarks.** Of all the parts of speech in German, the noun has the largest membership. This is due to various causes. Any part of speech can be used as a noun, and quite a number of words have in this way gained membership: *das Essen und Trinken*, *das Gute und Böse*, etc. Besides, derivatives, particularly by suffix, are very numerous, and the possibilities of composition are almost limitless.

§ 158. **Primitive Nouns.** For our modern feeling a great many nouns have the value of primitive words, in which in older periods of the German language derivative ele-

ments must still have been plainly recognized. A large number of the very oldest nouns, mostly masculines, are plainly felt as related to some strong or weak verb, though they show no derivative element even in the oldest stages. The vowels show various forms of gradation, but stay, of course, within the limits of their series. Cp. *fliegen*: *Fliege*: *Flug*; *fließen*: *Fluß*, *Floß*; *binden*: *Binde*, *Band*, *Bund*; *helfen*: *Hilfe*, *Hülfe*; *trinken*: *Trank*, *Trunk*; *brechen*: *Breche*, *Bruch*; etc.

Many other simple nouns stand alone, as *Baum*, *Buch*, *Dorf*, *Fell*, *Fisch*, *Fuß*, *Gras*, *Hahn*, *Haus*, *Hund*, *Kalb*, *Kind*, *Korn*, *Land*, *Meer*, *Nacht*, *Ochs*, *Ohr*, *See*, *Sohn*, *Volk*, *Weg*, *Weib*, *Zeit*, and many others.

It can hardly be said that in nouns like *Bund* and the rest we have derivatives from verbs; nor should gradation ordinarily be regarded as a means of derivation, though it is quite possible that in the case of some nouns of more recent origin it assumed this function, as in other connections it assumed other functions. As I said *binden*: *Bund*, so would I also be tempted to say *finden*: *Fund*, whether the couplet actually existed or not. Just what relation there is between strong verbs and cognate nouns we do not know. To say they come from the same stem or root explains nothing, because we do not know that stems or roots ever had any real existence, though the grammarian operates with them.

B. DERIVATIVE NOUNS

1. By Suffixes

§ 159. **Loss of Suffixes.** Many suffixes, plainly recognized in a remote stage of the language, have been so

completely obscured that we are hardly aware of their existence. Some of them had degenerated even in Gothic and Ohg. to inflectional endings and have since lost what little meaning they had left.

§ 160. **Meaning of the Suffixes.** Many German suffixes seem to have no meaning; they simply convert some other part of speech into a noun. In other instances suffixes form rather definite groups related in meaning or function.

a. Suffixes Forming Concrete Masculines

§ 161. **Nouns of Agency.** The suffixes forming nouns of agency (or masculines of somewhat more general meaning) from other nouns or verbs vary in different periods of the language. In the older periods, when vowels in the endings were still distinct, vocalic suffixes, as *-ja*, *-an*, *-jan*, were quite common. But when all vowels were leveled to a uniform *e*, suffixes with a more pronounced consonantal element did better service and gradually gained the field.

a. *-ja*. Of a rather large group of strong nouns denoting persons and formerly having the suffix *-ja*, *Hirte* only remains; and that has become weak by analogy with nouns in *-an*, *-jan*.

b. *-an*, *-jan*. The suffixes *-an*, *-jan* have both developed into *-e* in the nominative singular. *-an* was the stem ending of weak masculines, to which inflectional endings were added. *-jan* is an enlarged form getting its *j* from nouns derived from verbs in *-jan*. Most of the nouns in this class are still weak, and many can still be recognized as being related to verbs, which would sug-

gest that they are derivatives: *Bote*, *Vorfahr*, *Gehülfe*, *Nachkomme*, *Schenke*, etc. In others, as *Schurke*, *Bürge*, the relation is obscure.

c. *-ari*, *-nari*, *-lari*. 1. Nouns of Agency. Later, yet even in Gothic and Ohg., the Latin suffix *-arius* was attached to German stems in the form *-ari*, later *-ære*, *-er*. The same suffix is very common in English also. Connected with stems ending in *-n*, as *Garten* and some others, *-nari*, *-nære*, *-ner* and, from stems in *-l*, *-ler* were developed alongside of the more simple form, and these exist today. Examples are very numerous, and new words with these suffixes are still being made as occasion calls for them: *Radler*, *Autler*, etc. In German, nouns with this suffix are masculines, unless the feminine suffix *-in* is added, though in Latin neuters in *-arium* are very common. In the older stages of the language nouns with this suffix were almost exclusively made from other nouns. In time, deverbatives grew more and more common, so that today we feel that nouns in *-er*, *-ler*, *-ner* belong to verbs whenever a verb readily suggests itself for them. Examples in *-er*: *Lehrer*, *Schüler*, *Schneider*, *Geber*, *Gerber*, *Gräber*, *Kämpfer*, *Läufer*, *Leser*, *Träger*, etc.; in *-ner*: *Gärtner*, *Wagner*, *Glöckner*, *Klausner*, *Harfner*, *Redner*, *Lügner*, etc.; in *-ler*: *Vogler* (from *Vogel-er*), *Tischler*, *Gegenfüßler*, *Händler*, *Makler*, *Künstler*, and some others.

2. Nouns of Nationality. The suffix *-er*, *-ner* is also frequently used to denote persons as belonging to some city or country: *Engländer*, *Belgier*, *Thüringer*, *Hamburger*, *Bremer*, *Berliner*, *Dresdener*, and many others.

Side by side with this ending, a derivative from the Latin *-anus* serves the same purpose: *Sizilianer*, *Brasili-*

aner, probably also *Amerikaner*, *Indianer* (distinguished from *Indier*), *Hannoveraner*.

§ 162. *-il*, now *-el*, Denoting Agency or Instrument. The suffix *-il*, with its descendants in English, was early used to form masculine nouns of agency, a few of which are still left: *Büttel*, *Krüppel* (of Low German origin: *krupen* = *kriechen*, English *creep*), and a few less common ones. But it was also used to form masculine nouns generally denoting instrument, and of these we have a much larger number left: *Stuhl* (from the same stem as *stehen*), *Gürtel*, *Löffel* (cp. English *to lap*), *Meißel*, *Schlägel*, *Schlüssel*, *Stößel*, *Würfel*, *Zügel*, *Flügel*, and others.

Originally the suffix seems to have had less definite meaning than we now attach to it. At any rate, a number of deverbative nouns in *-el* denote neither persons nor instrument: *Wirbel*, whirlpool; *Wipfel*, tree top, from *wippen*, to sway; *Scheitel*, the part of the hair. — Masculine nouns in *-el* made from other nouns approach the diminutives in meaning. There are not many of them: *Knöchel*, *Knüttel*, *Stengel*; most of the others in *-el*, as *Mädel*, *Kindel*, *Bübel*, etc., are colloquial forms of the corresponding diminutives.

§ 163. *-ing -ung, -ling -lung*. The suffix *-ing* and its variant *-ung* were widely used to form masculines denoting family relationship, source, connection in the wider sense. Instances: *Zwilling*, *Drilling*, *Höfling*; also *Nibelung*, *Schilbung*, *Morung*, and other old proper names, a class to which *-ung* is virtually confined. After an *n* in the stem the *n* of the ending was dropped in Modern German: *König*, *Pfennig*; yet *Hänfling*. In time the

meaning of the suffix became less definite, but still the majority of words in *-ing*, *-ling* are denominatives denoting persons or animals: *Hering*, *Bückling*, *Fündling*, *Nachkömmling*, *Dichterling*, *Frömmeling*, *Häuptling*, *Lehr-ling*, *Liebling*, and many others.

Names of things, as *Fäustling*, *Däumling*, *Schößling*, are so rare that in the formation of them *-ling* cannot be said to be productive.

b. Suffix for Feminine Concrete Nouns

§ 164. *-in*. A number of other suffixes were used in older periods to denote the female in contrast with the male where this distinction is not made in the stems of the words themselves, as in *Vater*: *Mutter*; *Bruder*: *Schwester*; *Mann*: *Weib*; *Herr*: *Frau*; *Stute*: *Hengst*, etc. But of these other suffixes none survived or left any trace; *-in* usurped the entire field. Before *-in*, mutation and breaking (change from *e* to *i*, *o* to *u*) should be expected and is sometimes found, particularly mutation. But in many cases the vowel of the mother word prevailed. Instances are very numerous, particularly from nouns of agency in *-er* and other names denoting occupation: *Lehrerin*, *Schülerin*, *Studentin*, *Tänzerin*, *Schneiderin*, *Bäckerin*; but also from other nouns: *Freundin*, *Genossin*, *Göttin*, *Königin*, and others.

c. Diminutive Suffixes

§ 165. **General Remarks.** The Germanic languages inherited from the Indo-Germanic a diminutive suffix with *-g*, which took the form *-ing*, *-ung*, as we met them in § 163. The English *darling*, German *Jüngling*, *Lieb-*

ling, and others might reflect this ancient diminutive force of the suffix, from which also a bridge could readily be made to the meaning assigned to it in § 163. However, as a diminutive suffix it became unproductive very early, just as the suffix *-il* (§ 162), which also seems to have had diminutive force at one time.

§ 166. *-lîn -leîn*. But the *l*-suffix became productive in the extended form *-ilî*, *-ilîn*, which later became *-el*, *-le*, *-lein*, or *-elein* (*Kindelein: Kindlein*). The earlier form, *-ilî*, *-ilîn*, explains why we always have mutation in diminutives. Differences due to breaking, which also should sometimes appear, have regularly been leveled in Nhg. On High German territory the suffix *-lein* and its variants were for a time the only diminutive suffixes. In literary German *-lein* is the only recognized form except in a group of words hardly felt as diminutives, where *-el* is accepted: *Bündel*, *Ferkel*, *Dünnel* (*der*), *Knäuel*, *Tüpfel* (*der*). — In South German and Swiss dialects this ending often assumes the form *-li*, *-le*: *Äugli*, *Büebli*, *Kindli*; also *-el*: *Kindel*, *Hansel*, etc. *-lein* can be added to almost any concrete noun to make a diminutive.

§ 167. *-kîn, -chen*. On Low German territory arose the suffix *-kîn* (cp. English *lambkin*), whose High German form is regularly *-chen*. Side by side with *-kîn* the Low German shows traces of the *-lîn* suffix, which in time, however, gave way almost entirely to *-kîn* or its later Low German form *-ke*, *-ken*. From Low German it was introduced into High German, and we have now the two suffixes at our disposal for the same purpose. In general, *-lein* is more poetic; *-chen* has the preponderance in common prose. Something depends also on

the taste of the individual speaker and the geographical location. Only stems ending in a guttural spirant (*ch*, [*i*]*g*) do not commonly take the ending *-chen*: *Böcklein* or *Böckchen*, *Jünglein* and *Jüngchen* or *Jüngelchen*; but always *Bächlein*, *Tröglein*, less commonly *Trögchen*.

§ 168. **Combination of *-el* and *-chen*.** Confined to a few words is the combination of the two suffixes *-el* and *-chen*. Instances are: *Sächelchen*, *Wägelchen*, *Büchelchen*, *Jüngelchen*.

§ 169. **Limitations.** Very rarely diminutives are made from abstracts, hence rarely from nouns in *-nis*, *-sal*, *-heit*, *-keit*. Nouns in *-ling* do not take the diminutive ending; only occasionally one in *-tum*; never female designations in *-in*.

d. Suffixes Forming Collectives

§ 170. ***ge-* *-e*.** The most common way of making collectives is by means of the prefix *ge-* and the suffix *-e*, developed from older *-ja* and regularly dropped after *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*. The stem vowel shows mutation and in the older periods also breaking. Originally this combination did not necessarily have collective force. Many of the derivatives did not in any essential differ from the simple noun. Examples can still be found: *Hirn: Gehirn*; *Wetter: Gewitter*; *Sims: Gesimse*; *Trank: Getränk*; *Fraß: Gefräß*. In other cases the simple noun disappeared: *Geleise*, *Geschlecht*, *Gewand*. But by far the majority of this type are neuter collectives. A suggestion of this meaning was contained in the prefix *ge-*, a cognate of the Latin *co-*, *con-*; and couplets like *Feder: Gefieder*, *Bruder: Gebrüder*, might well have started the group, which is

now so numerous that it is hardly necessary to mention any instances: *Gebirge*, *Gebein*, *Gedärm*, *Geschütz*, *Gepäck*, *Geschwister*, *Gestrüpp*, *Gehölz*, etc.

Deverbatives also are now not infrequent, but they are rare in the older stages of the language: *Geläut*, *Gerüst*, *Gespräch*, and more clearly recognized as being in relation with verbs: *Geseufze*, *Getreibe*, *Geklopfe*, *Gerenne*. Verbs of the latter type indicate annoyance. They are of late origin, and the analogy of the verbal form is strong enough to prevent mutation in the derivatives.

§ 171. **-ich(t) to form Collectives.** The older form of the suffix was *-ahi*, *-ach*; the common form now is *-icht*, with excrescent *-t*, as in our colloquial *oncet*, *acrost*. The suffix was never able to compete with the preceding type, and it is now confined to a small number of nouns, most of which denote plant species: *Dornicht*, *Röhricht*, *Tannicht*, *Dickicht*, *Reisich* (without the *t*); then also *Spülicht*, *Kehricht*.

§ 172. **-schaft to form Collectives.** This suffix also has in its older form no *-t*. While in Gothic there are traces of it as an independent word, it has throughout the history of the German language figured as a suffix only. It was originally used to make abstract nouns, hence probably the feminine gender of collectives in *-schaft* also. As an abstract suffix we shall meet it later; very early it assumed also collective force. Often the same word is now abstract, now collective: *Brüderschaft*, *Freundschaft*, *Verwandschaft*, *Kundschaft*, *Herrschaft*, *Nachbarschaft*. Pure collectives are, e.g., *Bürgerschaft*, *Dienerschaft*, *Jüngerschaft*, *Kaufmannschaft*, *Lehrerschaft*, and others.

e. Abstract Suffixes

§ 173. **-e as an Abstract Suffix.** The ending *-e* in German nouns is of various origin (see § 161). As an abstract suffix it goes back

a. In deverbative nouns to Ohg. *-a*: *Klage, Ruhe, Lehre, Liebe, Taufe, Reise, Ehre, Sprache, Gabe, Lage, Rache, Hilfe, Einnahme*, etc.

b. In denominatives to Ohg. *-î*: *Breite, Fülle, Höhe, Länge, Nähe, Nässe, Röte, Säure, Tiefe, Schärfe, Weihe, Würde, Weite, Seuche*, and many others. Mutation is the rule, as we should expect. Some words, formerly recognized at once as belonging here, have lost the ending *-e*, and, besides, for a number of them the mother word has passed out of common use: *Gier, Zier, Schmach, Wut, Huld*.

§ 174. **-t, -st as Abstract Suffixes.** A considerable number of verbal abstracts end in *-t* or *-st*. The earlier form of the suffix was *-ti, -sti*, accounting for the vowel variation found in a number of them: *gönnen: Gunst; können: Kunst; brennen: Brunst; spinnen: Gespinst; gewinnen: Gewinst; rinne: Runst*. With *-t*: *geben: Gift; treiben: Trift; klieben: Kluft; graben: Gruft*, etc. It is to be noticed that in some nouns the stem shows gradation as compared with the mother word; in others it does not.

§ 175. **-nis as an Abstract Suffix.** The *n* of the suffix is supposed to be an accretion from weak verbs in *-n*; very early it was regarded as a part of the suffix. The vowel used to vary. We find in Ohg. *-nissa, -nissi, -nisse, -nessi, -nassi*; in Mhg. also *-nüsse*, a form which is met with even in Goethe's earlier writings. In Ohg. the

stem vowel was, as a rule, not mutated, possibly because of the varying vowels, more probably because of a rather strong secondary accent, before which mutation was prevented. In Nhg. mutation is the rule. The suffix is usually added to verbal stems, in Ohg. often also to adjectives; the latter formation is now rare. Examples: *Betrübnis*, *Ereignis*, *Verderbnis*, *Erkenntnis* (from the participle), *Bedrängnis*, *Geheimnis*, *Geständnis*, *Kümmernis*, *Hemmnis*, and others. Notice that some of these nouns are feminines, but most of them are neuters.

A number of words with this suffix are concrete nouns: *Gefängnis* (also abstract = *Gefangenschaft*), *Begräbnis*, *Verzeichnis*, and some others.

§ 176. **-ing, -ung as Abstract Suffixes.** In § 163 we met these suffixes in another function. As abstract suffixes they attach themselves almost exclusively to verbal stems, weak and strong. In the earliest stages of Germanic, *-ing* and *-ung* existed side by side. In the Scandinavian languages as well as in English and Dutch the *-ing* form prevailed; in German, particularly in High German, *-ung*. On the whole, the suffix is preferably connected with compound verbs, but also with simple ones. It is by far the most common and productive means of making verbal abstracts. Instances: *Heilung*, *Trennung*, *Hoffnung*, *Schöpfung*; *Beglaubigung*, *Bekräftigung*, *Verheimlichung*, *Verherrlichung*, and countless others. Also syntactic combinations or word groups are sometimes combined with *-ung* to form an abstract noun: *Instandsetzung*, *Indienststellung*, *Fleischwerdung*, etc.

§ 177. **-heit, -keit as Abstract Suffixes.** The form *-keit* is but a variant of *-heit*, which arose after adjectives in

–*ic* (now –*ig*): *heilic-heit* > *heili-keit* > *heilig-keit*. In time –*keit* was used also after other stems where, phonetically, there was no call for it. Today we use –*heit* always after adjectives in –*en* and –*ern*; –*keit* after adjectives in –*er*, –*bar*, –*sam*, –*lich*, and –*ig*. From adjectives in –*ig*, which first had occasioned the change from –*heit* to –*keit*, the newly enlarged suffix –*igkeit* arose. Almost all adjectives in –*bar*, –*haft*, –*los*, –*sam*, –*selig* form abstracts either with –*keit* or –*igkeit*: *Furchtbarkeit*, *Fruchtbarkeit*, *Nahrhaftigkeit*, *Schmerzhaftigkeit*, *Schmerzlosigkeit*, *Ehrlosigkeit*, *Friedsamkeit*, *Genügsamkeit*; *Saumseligkeit*, *Trübseligkeit*, and others.

Formerly abstracts were made in a similar way from perfect participles of strong verbs: *Bescheidenheit*, *Besonnenheit*, *Verwegenheit*, *Verworrenheit*, *Beklommenheit*, etc. Later, also weak participles are thus used: *Gelehrtheit*, *Verliebtheit*, *Geneigtheit*, *Berühmtheit*, etc.

In Gothic and Ohg. the suffix still had independent existence; Gothic *haidus* meaning manner, and Ohg. *heit* (Ags. *hād*), quality, character, or person. But simultaneously it occurred as a suffix.

§ 178. –*tum* as an Abstract Suffix. Also –*tum* (a cognate of English *doom*, –*dom*) is found down to Mhg. time as an independent word meaning judgment, custom, power, dominion. In some of our nouns in –*tum* we might be tempted to see still a shade of the old meaning; in most cases the suffix is now merely a derivative element. It is connected with nouns, very rarely with adjectives. The more common formations of the latter kind are: *Heiligtum*, *Reichtum*, *Eigentum*, all concrete; *Irrtum*, *Siechtum*. Connected with either adjective or

noun the suffix is far less productive than *-heit* and its variants. Instances: *Kaisertum*, *Fürstentum*, *Königtum*, *Judentum*, *Heidentum*, *Christentum*.

Where forms with *-heit* or *-schaft* and *-tum* exist side by side, there is usually a tolerably well-defined difference in meaning: *Christenheit*, the Christian church; *Christentum*, Christianity as a religion; *Eigentum*: *Eigenschaft*; yet *Judenschaft*, *Heidenschaft* were formerly used quite as *Judentum*, *Heidentum*.

§ 179. **-schaft as an Abstract Suffix.** This suffix is etymologically identical with our English noun *shape* (and the suffix *-ship*), and as a noun (*scaf*) in Ohg. had nearly that meaning. In Mhg. it appears with the added *t*. It is added to nouns, rarely to adjectives, which more readily take *-heit*. All in all, *-schaft* was not very productive. At first it formed abstract nouns, and some of these are still left, but most of them have now become collective (cp. § 172). Abstracts are: *Bereitschaft*, readiness (of an outward sort), *Bereitheit*, readiness, willingness; *Bekanntschaft*, acquaintanceship, *Bekanntheit*, familiarity; *Knechtschaft*, servitude; *Kindschaft*, state (quality) of a child, *Kindheit*, childhood.

§ 180. **-ie, -ei, -erie, -erei as Abstract Suffixes.** A number of foreign endings have from time to time come into the language with foreign words and have been added occasionally also to native words. But none of them have proved productive except *-ie* (which later became, for a time, also *-ei*) and the expansions *-erie*, *-erei*, due to a combination of the shorter suffixes with nouns of agency in *-er*. The suffix, coming in Mhg. time from the French and at first preferably attached to nouns of agency,

usually denoted the quality dominant in the person denoted by the mother noun. Cp. English *villainy*, *Büberei*; *Schelmerei*, *Schurkerei*, *Dieberei*. In these and a few nouns, which, though similar, were not made from nouns of agency, the suffix has its old force.

Soon, however, words in *-ei* from nouns of agency also denoted the trade or the place of the trade: *Bäckerei*, the baker's trade or the bakery, bakeshop. But side by side with *Schmiederei*, the trade, we have *Schmiede*, the smithy.

At present nouns in *-erei* are also made from verbs and contain an element of disapproval: *Fresserei*, *Spielerei*, *Singerei*, usually much the same as *Gesinge*, *Gespiele*, etc. (§ 170).

The suffix *-ie* is still used in words of foreign origin only: *Theologie*, *Philosophie*, etc.

2. Nouns with Prefixes

§ 181. Nouns Derived from Verbs with Prefixes. All nouns with unstressed prefixes, except *ge-*, are derived from verbs with the respective prefixes: *Verstand*: *verstehen*; *Erkenntnis*: *erkennen*, etc. Also from verbs with separable, stressed prefixes nouns may be derived: *ausgehen*: *Ausgang*; *aufstehen*: *Aufstand*, and others.

§ 182. Nouns with Stressed Prefixes. Where a stressed prefix is directly connected with a noun, it retains in the main its inherent meaning. The more common prefixes of the kind, some of which are also connected with adjectives and verbs, are the following, with the general meaning as given:

1. *ab-*, separation, removal, as English *off*: *Abreise*,

Abfahrt, Abart, Abweg; most of the nouns with *ab-* are derivatives from verbs with *ab-*.

2. *aber-* usually signifies error, perverseness: *Aberglaube, Aberwitz*, and a few others.

3. *after-*, not often used, has nearly the same meaning as *aber-*: *Afterkritik*, superficial, misdirected criticism; *Aftergröße*, greatness in a wrong direction; *Aftergelehrt-heit*, pedantic, worthless, misused learning.

4. *erz-*, with nouns and adjectives, has in general intensive force, as the corresponding English *arch-*. It came into the language from the Greek *ἀρχι-* in ecclesiastical words, such as *Erzbischof, Erzengel*, and others. In analogy with them also *Erzherzog*. *Erzvater* translates the Latin *patriarcha*. But the prefix is preferably used in connection with adjectives and nouns denoting undesirable persons or qualities, as *erzdumm, Erzgauner, Erz-narr, Erzschelm*, etc. Hence, also in combination with neutral adjectives and nouns it is apt to give some touch of an unfavorable meaning: *Erzkatholik, Erzprotestant, erzdeutsch, Erzfranzose*, etc.

5. *Miß-*, prefixed to adjectives and nouns, equivalent to English *mis-*, denotes generally a state contrary to what is desired or expected; sometimes the direct opposite of the simple form: *Mißgunst: Gunst; Mißfallen: Gefallen*. But the more common type is represented in *Mißheirat, Mißverständnis, Mißernte, mißgestaltet*, and others.

6. *un-*, with adjectives and nouns, just as English *un-*, denotes the opposite or the perversion of the simple word, as *Undank, Unsinn, Unverstand, Unnatur*. When the simple word denotes something good, or even some-

thing more or less neutral, *un-* converts the meaning into something bad: *Untat, Unsitte, Unwetter*.

7. *ur-*, equivalent to the unaccented *er-* in verbs, when connected with nouns usually designates a person or object as ancient, as a source or a model: *Urwald, Urvater, Urbild*, etc.

To adjectives it gives intensifying force without adding censure as *erz-* often does: *urdeutsch, uralt, ureigen, urkräftig*, and a few others.

C. COMPOUND NOUNS

§ 183. **Noun Composition.** It is impossible to give, within the scope of this treatise, any adequate account of word composition, particularly the composition of nouns.

We can distinguish, in German better than in English, two types of noun composition. The one is represented by such a combination as *Landesgrenze*, the other by *Landtag*; English *doomsday, Adam's apple: ladyfinger, apple tree*, etc.

a. *Unreal Compounds.* In the first class, called 'unreal composition' (uneigentliche Zusammensetzung), the compound represents essentially the syntactic relation of the two words entering into composition. If both parts of the compound are nouns, the first is in genitive relation to the second: *Landesgrenze*. If the second part is a noun made from a transitive verb, the first part is in objective relation: *Kriegführung, Wegweiser, Ratgeber*, even *Gesangunterricht*. But the lines between the accusative and the genitive forms in combinations of this order are not at all sharply drawn. In general it may be said

that particularly the genitive form in *-s* has gained ground far beyond its proper limits. In forms like *Gottesliebe* we have to deal with an objective genitive, in *Freundestreue* with a possessive. In *Gottesdienst* the syntactic relation is still quite clear, though *diene*n takes the dative rather than the accusative, which in compounds of this sort is more commonly converted into an objective genitive. The *s* had slightly tended toward becoming an element of composition. It made a decided step in this direction when, under Low German influence, *-s* was added even to feminine nouns entering as first elements into composition, as *Arbeitslohn*, *Geburtstag*, *Regierungsbezirk*, *Liebesdienst*, and many others. Today *-s-* in forms like these is no longer felt as a genitive sign, but as a mere formative element.

A similar feeling has preserved also the *-en* of the weak genitive in the case of feminine nouns entering into composition, while ordinarily the inflection has been dropped. Weak feminines as well as masculines used to be inflected both in the singular and in the plural. Back to this stage date forms like *Sonnenschein*, *Frauenhaar*, *Nasenloch*, *Straßenjunge*, *Tintenfleck*, *Wiegenlied*, *Wiesenteppich*, *Erdenleid*, *Blumentopf*, and also a few compounds with masculines as first elements: *Hahnenfeder*, *Mondenschein*.

But while the use of *-en* in the first part of these compounds is pretty well settled (though we do have *Mondschein* and *Mondenschein*), there are numerous compounds in which the *-s-* is either used or not: *Meerwasser* *Meereswasser*; *Bergluft*, *Bergesluft*; *Heerzeichen*, *Heereszeichen*, but only *Heeresmacht*; *Jahrbuch*, but *Jahreszeit* and many others.

b. *Real Compounds*. In the so-called real compounds the relation between the parts is of almost limitless variety, including, in not a few cases, the genitive and objective relation covered by the other type. Real compounds are far older than unreal compounds and presumably go back to a period of the Indo-Germanic languages, or prior to them, when an inflectional system had not yet been developed. The mere juxtaposition of two words must have determined their relation, much in the same way as in modern English: *anti-slavery movement*, *convention news*, etc. Compare with this "news convention"; though probably no such combination has ever been formed, no one would be long in doubt as to its meaning.

The German language has the reputation of forming compound nouns more readily than the English, and in some directions this ability is, no doubt, greater. Nouns like *Gütergemeinschaft* and others, in which the first part is in a genitive relation, cannot so easily be formed in English; but, on the other hand, a noun like *anti-slavery movement*, which is to all intents and purposes a compound, is impossible in German: similarly, *good roads agitation*, *hot weather sports*, and innumerable others.

In general we are not much in doubt as to the relation which two parts of a compound have to each other, though often we must know the context in order to decide. It is interesting to observe in a number of compounds the great variety of possible relations. Behaghel, *Die deutsche Sprache*, second edition, has a long list of compounds with *Gold* as the first part. I enumerate some of them without comment: *Goldmine*, *Goldfeld*, *Goldküste*, *Goldland*; *Gold-*

ader; Goldsalz, Golderz, Goldoxyd, Goldschwefel; Goldwasser, Goldtinktur; Goldhammer, Goldgewicht, Goldwage; Goldpapier, Goldbuchstabe, Goldschnitt, Goldgrund; Golddruck, Goldschrift; Goldgrube, Goldladen, Goldfach, Goldkammer, Goldschrank; Goldtiegel, Goldschale, Goldkörbchen; Goldfasan, Goldammer, Goldfuchs, Goldkäfer, Goldfisch, Goldorange, Goldhaar; Goldarbeiter, Goldschmied; Goldmacher, Goldsucher; Goldmann, Goldmensch, Goldtöchterchen; Goldonkel; Goldfieber, Golddurst, Goldgier; Goldvorlage, Goldbill, Goldfrage; and still others are possible. The compounds between semicolons present in the relation of their elements approximately the same character. Most of them are possible in English.

But nouns are often compounded with adjectives also: *grandfather, stepson, bluebird*; German *Rotbart, Weißkopf, Gelbschnabel*, and others. *Rotbart* and the two following denote a man with the characteristic indicated: *Rotbart* is a man with a red beard. But *Großvater, Freiherr, Edelmann*, do not mean a great or grand father, a free lord, a noble man. The first part has more or less lost its inherent, usual meaning, and the two parts form an inseparable unit.

Where verbs are used in composition with nouns, the compound usually, but not always, denotes the instrument with which the action is carried out, *Dreschflegel, Eßlöffel, Schreibfeder*, but also *Schreibpapier; Lesebrille*, but also *Lesebuch, Lesezimmer*, etc.

III. Formation of Adjectives

1. *By Suffixes*

§ 184. **General Statement.** As in noun and verb formations, so also in the formation of adjectives old suffixes which had no characteristic consonant disappeared early. The following suffixes are still more or less productive.

§ 185. **-en (older -în), -ern.** a. **-en.** Very early the ending *-în* was used to form denominative adjectives denoting material: *Wolle: wollen* (older *wîllen*); *Erde: irden*; *Gold: golden: gûlden*. In words like *irden, gûlden*, and the older *wîllen*, the interchange between *e: i, o: ü*, is the effect of the processes which we learned to know as breaking and mutation. In Ohg. and Mhg. this interchange was rather the rule, though even then many differences had been leveled, and the derivative and the mother word have now commonly the same vowel.

b. **-ern, older -irîn.** An enlarged form of *-en* is *-ern*. The *r* probably came in from noun stems with plurals in *r*, few as they were and though the adjectives formed from them were uncommon. Yet in Ohg. *hrindir-în, rindern*, like cattle, and *huonir-în, hühnern*, like chickens, are found and may have started the type. At any rate, no other explanation is at hand. We have now *hölzern, hörnern, gläsern, beinern, steinern*, and several others, all of which lacked the *r* in the older stages. Mutation is to be expected.

§ 186. **-ig' (older -ag, -ig).** In the majority of cases the suffix converts non-personal nouns, often abstracts,

into adjectives, denoting the thing or quality designated by the noun: *steinig*, *geduldig*, *gütig*, *zornig*, *kräftig*, *vernünftig*, *wässerig*. But sometimes the adjective thus formed names the essential quality of the noun: *eisig*, *goldig*, *holzig*, etc. Sometimes it is also connected with adjectives: *untertänig*, *niedrig*, *geräumig*, and a few others still less clearly recognized as derived from adjectives. The difference between the simple adjective and its derivative in *-ig* is small.

§ 187. *-isch* (older *-isk*) is a comparatively young suffix, but has proved most productive. It forms adjectives denoting, in a general way, connection, particularly racial connection: *deutsch* (< *diutisk*, cp. Mhg. *diet* = people), *französisch*, *spanisch*, *amerikanisch*; it is attached also to the names of some cities: *hamburgisch*, *braunschweigisch*. None of these adjectives are capitalized. With city names the suffix *-er* is more commonly used in a similar way: *Berliner*, *Dresdener*, *New Yorker*, *Chicagoer*. These adjectives are capitalized.

Numerous adjectives in *-isch* are also formed from nouns of agency in *-er*. They denote the predominant quality of the noun: *erfinderisch*, *heuchlerisch*, *kriegerisch*, *malerisch*, *schöpferisch*. All these mean: after the manner of an inventor, etc.

Sometimes also forms like *gegnerisch* are made, denoting a purely genitive relation: *die gegnerische Behauptung* = *die Behauptung des Gegners*. Discriminating speakers avoid them.

In Modern German, as in English, the suffix *-isch* often adds a derogative meaning to adjectives, particularly if similar adjectives with different suffixes exist alongside

of them: *herrlich*: *herrisch*; *weiblich*: *weibisch*; English *womanly*: *womanish*; *manly*: *mannish*.

The productiveness of *-isch* is well seen in the readiness with which it connects with words of foreign origin, first with those of places, then also with others: *afrikanisch*, *nazarenisch*, *amerikanisch*, *italienisch*; *lapidarisch*, *philosophisch*, *forensisch*, and innumerable others.

§ 188. *-icht* is little used; it is probably an expanded *-ig*. It forms adjectives from nouns: *steinicht*, *töricht*, and some others, too few to give any definite meaning to the suffix.

§ 189. *-lich* (older *-lîh*). The suffixes *-lich*, *-haft*, *-sam*, *-bar*, and *-mäßig* are in a way different from the ones treated before because they exist in Germanic times, i.e., within the history of the various Germanic dialects, as independent words. But for our present feeling they are suffixes like the rest.

-lich, now causing mutation, had a strong secondary accent in Ohg. (notice the *î* in the old *-lîh*) and therefore did not generally cause mutation in Ohg. It is commonly considered a development from the noun, Gothic *leik*, Ohg., Mhg. *lîh*, Nhg. *Leiche*, which meant body. But there was also in Gothic, Ohg., and Ags. a verb, Gothic *leikan*, Ohg. *lichen*, Ags. *gelican*, English *to like*, the root meaning of which seems to have been straight, fitting, snug, pleasing. Low German *lîk* now means straight, just. It is quite possible (with Wilmanns) that the suffix started here and was confused later with the noun of the same form. In English the suffix developed into *-ly* and (except in adjectives derived from nouns by means of it, *heavenly*, etc., and a very few like *goodly*, *likely*) is

now a sign of adverbs, though not all adverbs in English have the ending *-ly*, as seems to be commonly supposed. The suffix was leaning in that direction very early, but has given up this tendency in Nhg. Presumably a number of words in *-lich*, now either adjectives or adverbs, were originally adverbs only.

By means of *-lich* adjectives are made from nouns, adjectives, and verbs, sometimes also from participles.

In the older periods more clearly than now there was a difference between the simple adjective and its derivative in *-lich*, which can still be felt in some couplets: *bitter: bitterlich; kühn: kühnlich; sauber: säuberlich*. Those in *-lich* assign qualities in a more or less figurative, less real sense. A few instances of derivatives from the various parts of speech may suffice for illustration:

a. From nouns: *bräutlich, nachbarlich, dörflich, ehelich, friedlich, feindlich, männlich, weiblich*. Why *-lich* should be used with some and *-isch* with others, is not apparent: *dörflich: städtisch*; cp. English *friendly: fiendish*.

b. From adjectives: *bitterlich, bösllich, völlig, höchlich, gütlich, schwerlich*, etc.

c. From verbal stems: *kläglich, käuflich, glaublich, verdrießlich, behaglich, verträglich, sterblich*, etc. Many from verbs with prefixes: *zerbrechlich, erfindlich*, particularly *unerfindlich, unverbrüchlich*, etc.

An enlarged form from *-lich* is *-erlich*, starting from adjectives like *meisterlich, ärgerlich, väterlich*, etc. In analogy we have *lächerlich, weinerlich*, and a few others. Perhaps they also started from the derivative verbal forms: *mich weinert, mich lachert*, found in Southern dialects.

§ 190. **-haft.** Gothic *hafts*, Ohg. *haft*, are still independent words and correspond etymologically to the Latin participle *captus*. As an old participial adjective it should have a passive force, which indeed it seems to have sometimes when used as a suffix, or in composition. But in some way it acquired an active meaning. It would not be impossible to connect it with the stem found in Latin *habeo*, and our *have*, German *haben*, to which a *t*-suffix was added. The general meaning of the suffix, *having*, *habend*, could thus be more easily explained. In meaning very much like this it is now used in many adjectives, usually those from nouns: *statthaft*, *schadhaft*, *lebhaft*, *mangelhaft*; *märchenhaft*, however, means fairy-tale like; similarly in *mannhaft*, *schalkhaft* it is more nearly equivalent to *-lich*. Also *wahrhaft*, *frevelhaft*, *zaghaft*, and a few others, which we now feel as related to other adjectives, may have been derived from older nouns of the same form. But adjective derivatives are not impossible, because forms from verbal stems also occur: *habhaft*, *flatterhaft*, *naschhaft*, *schmeichelhaft*, and a few others.

§ 191. **-sam** is from the same stem as the English pronominal adjective *same* and the suffix *-some*, originally denoting likeness. As a suffix it preferably connects with abstract nouns and denotes, in general, an habitual inclination to the quality or state indicated by the noun: *arbeitsam*, *friedsam*, *sittsam*, *sorgsam*, *gewaltsam*, and others. There is a shade of difference in meaning between parallel forms in *-sam* and *-lich*: *friedsam*: *friedlich*, peaceable: peaceful; *sorgsam*: *sorglich*, provident: careful; *sittsam*: *sittlich*, staid: moral, etc.

In Nhg. particularly, a very large number of deverbative adjectives are formed with *-sam*, usually designating aptness or inclination for the activity expressed in the verb: *duldsam*, *folgsam*, *fügsam*, *gehorsam*, *schweigsam*, etc.

§ 192. *-bar*, related to the English verb *bear*, German *gebären*, still existed in Ohg. as an adjective, but only with the negative prefix *un-*: *unbari*, Mhg. *unbære*, sterile. The general meaning of *bearing*, *rendering*, *producing*, can still be dimly felt in many words with *-bar*, particularly those made from nouns, the oldest group: *dankbar*, *dienstbar*, *fruchtbar*, *klagbar* in the sense of bringing in complaint. But neither this group nor adjectives in *-bar* from other adjectives are numerous. The suffix has become quite productive in connection with verbal stems, usually denoting that the noun modified by the adjective in *-bar* lends itself as an object of the action expressed in the verbal stem: *lesbar*, readable, able to be read; *ausführbar*, able to be executed; *vergleichbar*, able to be compared, etc.

§ 193. *mäßig* was early enlarged from *mâzi*. It forms adjectives almost exclusively from nouns. They denote, *in accordance with*, *in the manner of*. Examples are almost innumerable: *affen-*, *gewohnheits-*, *bühnen-*, *gesetz-*, *handwerks-*, *heldenmäßig*, etc.

2. Compound Adjectives

§ 194. **Loose Combinations.** Often adjectives are combined with other adjectives or with nouns to indicate a peculiar shade of the quality they denote, as *schneeweiß*, *erdfahl*, *pechschwarz*, *blutwarm*, *milchwarm*, *rosenrot*, etc. Such combinations explain themselves.

§ 195. **Combinations more nearly Approaching Compounds.** There are a number of words which, quite irrespective of their inherent meaning, are habitually combined with adjectives to intensify their force. The more common ones are:

1. *erz-*, mentioned also in connection with the noun (§ 182). With adjectives, likewise, it is inclined to add a derogative meaning: *erzdumm*, *erzfaul*; but we have also *erkatholisch*, etc., without this connotation.

2. *über-*, as in *überevoll*, *übergroß*, *überalt*, *überfein*, *überklug*, *überlang*, *überreife*, in every case denoting excess.

3. *ur-*, meaning, as with nouns, *ancient*, *original*: *uralt*, *ureigen*, *urdeutsch*; but also, merely intensifying, *urgemütlich*, *urplötzlich*, and others.

4. *hoch-*, merely intensifying, as in *hochwichtig*, *hochheilig*, *hochedel*, *hochweise*, *hochbedeutend*, *hochgelehrt*, *hochfein*, *hochrot*, and others.

5. *all-*, intensifying, often to the highest degree: *allmächtig*, *allweise*, *allein*, *allmählich*, *allgemein* (the last three hardly felt as compounds), *allgütig*, and a few others usually applied to God only.

6. *grund-*, intensifying, confined to a small number of adjectives: *grundgütig*, *grundschlecht*, *grundverkehrt*, *grundfalsch*, *grundgescheit*, and possibly a few others.

7. *stock-*, intensifying, confined to narrow limits: *stocksteif*, *stocktaub*, *stockfinster*, *stockdumm*, and a few others.

8. *stein-*: *steinalt* (cp. *old as the hills*), *steinhart*, *steinkalt*, *steinreich*, and a few others.

9. *tod-*: *todkrank*, *totenbleich*, *todunglücklich*, *todwund*, and a few others.

10. *kreuz-*, often adding a depreciating tinge: *kreuz-*

brav, good but stupid; *kreuzdumm*, *kreuzfidel*, *kreuzglücklich*, and a few others.

11. *wunder*—: *wunderschön*, *wundergut*, *wunderstill*, *wundermild*, *wunderelegant*, and a few others.

12. *gotts*—: *gottsträfllich*, *gottserbärmlich*, both usually adverbs; *gottselend*, *gottsjämmerlich*.

13. *blut*—: *blutrot*, *blutarm*, *blutwenig*, *blutjung*.

14. *blitz*—: *blitzschnell*, *blitzblank*, *blitzdumm*, *blitzernst*, *blitzblau*, *blitzsauber*, etc.

IV. Formation of Adverbs

§ 196. **Primitives.** The number of primitive adverbs in German is not large, not even when we consider that a number of them now felt as primitives can at least be associated with, if not directly derived from, stems of other words, particularly pronominal forms. The bulk of these simple adverbs have local meaning: *her*, *hin*, *da*, *wo*, *hier*, *fort*, *auf*, *ab*, *aus*, *ein*, etc. With similar temporal adverbs, as *nun*, they are the oldest of their class. Often, indeed, local adverbs do service in temporal relations also.

1. *Adjective-Adverbs*

§ 197. **Apparently in the Form of the Predicate Adjective.** In Ohg., adverbs (in the positive degree) were made from adjectives by means of the ending *ô*, the origin of which is disputed. In Mhg. this *ô* > *e*; in Nhg. it was dropped, by analogy with other adverbial forms which had no claim to *e* as an ending. Only in *lange* is this *e* preserved. Adverbs which in Modern German have no ending originate from an uninflected neuter accusative singular of the adjective. Coinciding in Modern German

with those originally ending in *ô*, they can be recognized as accusative forms in the older stages of the language only. In general it may be said, however, that adverbs with the *-ô* suffix usually are qualifying adverbs, denoting the quality of an action: *I slept well*. Adverbs representing old accusatives, on the other hand, often have merely intensifying force, or denote the degree: *viel, sehr, genug, wenig, gar*, and *all-* in *all-gemein* and other compounds.

With respect to form the two classes cannot be distinguished in Nhg., nor can they always with reference to meaning. Examples of these adjective-adverbs, whose origin is often obscured on account of their peculiar development in meaning or because of the loss of the adjective of which they were originally a part, are: *hoch, lange*, and any uninflected adjective lending itself to adverbial use. Forms whose meanings have more or less grown away from that of the adjective or which stand alone are: *bloß, schon, fast*,¹ *fest, gleich, kaum, gern, eben, gerade, bald*, and others.

§ 198. **Adjective-adverbs in -s.** These probably started as genitives of the neuter adjective. They were never numerous, and the *s* has at present no significance; indeed, most of those existing now are of so late origin,

¹ *Schon* belongs to *schön*, *fast* to *fest*. As adjectives, *schön, fest*, and all others with the stem in *i* (Ohg. *ja, jo* stems: *scôni, vesti, senfti*, etc.) had mutated vowels in the stem. As adverbs, they dropped the *-ja* or its developed form and added *ô*, which did not call for mutation. Through Mhg. the difference between the adjective and the adverb in this respect is kept up. In Nhg. it has been obliterated in favor of the mutated vowel, except in *sanft* and *hart* (Mhg. adj. *senfte, herte*, adv. *sanfte, harte*). Only in *fast* and *schon*: *fest* and *schön* the difference is preserved, because these adverbs are no longer associated with the adjectives in meaning.

that in them the *-s* was probably an adverbial sign from the start. Instances of older forms are *anders*, *stracks*, *stets*, *vergebens*, and many, really compounds, in *-wärts*. Later forms are: *besonders*, *öfters*, *längs* (now chiefly preposition), *unversehens*, *eilends*, and a few other present participles.

§ 199. **Adjective-adverbs in *-lich*.** The suffix *-lich* was early favored for adverbial use and has spread in this direction particularly in English and Scandinavian. In German as an adverbial suffix it gained ground especially in the Mhg. period, when the adverbial ending *ô* had become *e* or disappeared. But the difference in form between adjective and adverb had become so slight, that very many adjectives were formed with *-lich*, and in modern German *-lich* can hardly be said to show any preference for the adverb. Adjectives in *-lich* as well as those without a suffix are used adverbially. Yet several forms in *-lich* appear principally or only as adverbs; the corresponding adjectives do not take the suffix: *bitterlich*, *böslich*, *fälschlich*, *völlig*, *freilich*, *gütlich*, *höchlich*, *kühnlich*, *kürzlich*, *leichtlich*, *säuberlich*, *schwerlich*, *wahrlich*, and a few others; cp. § 189.

§ 200. **Prepositional Combinations.** Numerous combinations of a preposition, particularly *in*, and the dative of the adjective are used adverbially: *im ganzen*, *im stillen*, *im allgemeinen*, *im guten*, *in gutem*; also *beim alten*; *aufs neue*, and, written together, *insbesondere*, *inskünftige*. In all these cases the really substantive adjective is not capitalized.

§ 201. **Comparative and Superlative Forms of Adverbs.** Older differences between the comparative form of the

adjective and that of the adverb have been completely obliterated in New High German. In but few cases do we use the simple superlative stem of the adjective as a superlative adverb: *erst, höchst, jüngst, längst, baldigst, billigst, ehrerbietigst, eiligst, gefälligst, innigst, freundlichst, gehorsamst, ergebenst*, and a few others.

Commonly we use the preposition *an* (contracted with the definite article to *am*) and the dative singular of the superlative adjective: *am besten, am meisten*, etc. Another combination is formed with *auf* and the accusative: *aufs beste, aufs höchste*. This denotes simply a very high, not in the real sense the superlative, degree.

Remnants from older days, when prepositions were combined with the superlative without the article, we have in *zuerst, zuletzt, zunächst, zumeist*; and still separated, *zu oberst, zu unterst*, and a few others.

In is used in but few instances: *im geringsten, im mindesten*; similarly *zu*: *zum mindesten, zum ersten, zum letzten, zum besten*.

2. Nouns Used as Adverbs

§ 202. **Old Cases.** Adverbs derived from nouns were originally simply some case form, with or without a preposition, used in adverbial relation and, in the course of being used, more closely connected. Very often nouns thus developing into adverbs are dissociated more or less from the class of nouns and show peculiarities in inflection and usage. Just a few examples to illustrate: *zuberger* in the sense of *in die Höhe* is now used only as an adverb and in the one phrase: *das Haar steht mir zuberger*. *Zutal* (*zetal*) was formerly used in the opposite sense; today in

Low German the simple word *dâl* without any preposition has the meaning downward.

§ 203. **Article Omitted.** As in *zuberger*, so in many other combinations the article is omitted. This may reflect an older usage in which the article was not so common, being at that time more of a demonstrative pronoun. We have, e.g., *zufrieden*, *außer stande*, *vonseiten*, *beiseite*, *beileibe*, and many others.

§ 204. **Preposition with Unusual Case.** Again, the preposition governs a case which it now no longer governs in ordinary relations or which it never did govern: *insgeheim*, *insbesondere*, *inskünftige*, *aufs neue*, *von alters her*, *von morgens*, *hinterrücks*, and others.

§ 205. **Loss of Inflectional Ending.** Often the noun loses its proper inflectional ending, as in *außerhalb*, *innerhalb*, etc., *halb* being an old feminine noun (*halba*); *zumal*, *zurecht*, *zwar* (< *ze ware*), *zuhauf*, *zurück*. Where a noun thus used is preceded by an adjective, the adjective sometimes appears without an ending: *gleichfalls*, *halbwegs*, *ebenfalls*.

§ 206. **Older Forms Preserved.** Older declensional forms are preserved in *zugunsten*, *vorhanden*, *abhanden*; *zufrieden* and *zu Häupten* cannot well be explained even as older forms.

§ 207. **Excrescent s.** The most common simple case used in adverbial relations is the genitive, and particularly forms in *-s* early acquired adverbial force. The ending was no longer regarded as a case ending, but as a means of forming adverbs from nouns. This is apparent from the fact that in a number of instances it was also added to feminine nouns, which, of course, had no claim

to it. The best known example is *nachts, des Nachts*, in analogy with *tags, des Tages*; but also *abseits, diesseits, beiseits*, and a few others. Similarly also the adverbial suffix *-dings* shows an unwarranted *-s*: *allerdings*, instead of *allerdinge, schlechterdings, platterdings, neuerdings, freierdings*; also *allerorts, beiderseits*. The form of the first part of all these compounds leads us to expect a plural ending for the second.

3. Adverbs with a Kind of Suffix

§ 208. *-lings* Added to Adjectives and Nouns. This suffix in its older form was *-ing*, but the *l* is found even in Ohg. Not many adverbs have this suffix; the commonest are: *blindlings, jählings, rücklings, häuptlings, rittlings*, and a few others.

§ 209. *-weise*. This suffix and a few others to be mentioned (*-maßen, -dings, -mal[s], -wärts*) can still be recognized as independent words, though in connection with adverbs they have purely the function of suffixes. *-weise*, much as our English *way* or *wise*, was earlier used with various adjectives in the accusative case, or also with the preposition *in*, in adverbial function. Remnants of this use with *in* we have in a number of combinations, though the preposition is now lost: *kreuzweise* (< *in kriuzes wise*), *paarweise, schrittweise, wechselweise, haufenweise*; and with the genitive *s* preserved in the first part, or even added where it does not belong as in *ausnahmsweise: gesprächsweise, beispielsweise, vergleichsweise, versuchsweise*.

§ 210. *-maßen* is not used in many forms, *dermaßen, einiger-, gewisser-, bekannter-, anerkannter-, folgendermaßen*,

and some others. It comes from the Mhg. strong feminine *diu mâze*, meaning *proper moderation*; in Mhg. it was commonly used with a preposition. The form in which we have it is probably an old weak feminine singular, not the plural. Occasionally we find the word as a weak feminine in Mhg.

§ 211. **-dings** in *allerdings*, *schlechterdings*, *platterdings*, *neuerdings*, *freierdings*. In every case the adjective in these combinations has the genitive plural ending, and the older form of the second part was also the genitive plural *dinge*. The fact that the adverbial *s* could crowd out the regular ending indicates that *-ding* had become dissociated from the noun and was felt as an adverbial suffix. This could occur the more readily because the word had lost its older very general meaning which is still preserved in our English compounds *nothing*, *anything*, *something*.

§ 212. **-mal(s)**. In a number of combinations *-mals* is used without occasioning much change in meaning from the simpler form: *oftmals*: *oft*; *jemals*: *je*; *niemals*: *nie*. Of other combinations the first form does not occur in quite the same function: *damals*, *mehrmals*, *vielmals*, *ehemals*, *nachmals*, *nochmals*.

-mal, without the adverbial *s*, is most extensively used with numerals: *einmal*, *zweimal*, etc. Here as also in a number of other combinations it has taken the place of the older *stunt* (Nhg. *Stunde*).

§ 213. **-wärts**, corresponding to English *-ward*, *-wards*, is the genitive of an old adjective *wert* = *turned*, *bound*: (north-bound). It was never used by itself, but preceded by an adverb designating the direction: *herwärts*, *hinwärts*,

auswärts, einwärts, aufwärts, abwärts. Probably by analogy with a form like *heimwärts*, in which there might be doubt as to whether *heim* is an adverb or a noun, the suffix was later also combined with nouns: *himmelwärts, erdwärts, rückwärts, seitwärts*, and a few others; also *anderwärts*.

§ 214. **Other Suffixes.** The suffixes in §§ 209–213 are not the only words entering into adverbial combinations, but they are the more common ones and have perhaps more completely than some others acquired the function of suffixes. A few of these may here be mentioned together: *desfalls, jedenfalls, allenfalls*, etc.; *allerorts, hierorts, mancherorts* or *mancherorten*, etc.; *diesseits, jenseits, meinerseits, allerseits*, etc.; *meinesteils, einesteils, größenteils, meisteils*, etc.; *halbwegs, keineswegs, geradeswegs*, etc.; *mittlerweile, derweile(n), jeweilen* or *jeweils*, etc.

V. Prepositions

§ 215. **General Remarks.** There are no primitive prepositions. The relations which are now—and have been more or less throughout the history of the Germanic languages—expressed by means of a preposition and its case are supposed to have been set forth at some earlier time simply by the case of the noun. Remnants of this earlier usage we have still, though they appear more often in the older stages of the language than they do at present; examples are the accusative of time and of space, and the genitive in many relations.

§ 216. **Prepositions from Adverbs.** The oldest prepositions were originally adverbs, denoting an idea similar

to that expressed in the case of the noun. Compare the Modern German use of certain adverbs which to an English speaking person seem redundant: *Man geht durch den Wald hindurch, über den Berg hinüber*, etc.; English: *We go in-to the house*, etc. These adverbs were so regularly used in connection with the various noun cases that the relations expressed by the two were felt not to be adequately indicated by the noun alone: the adverb had become a preposition, no longer having a meaning by itself, but only in connection with some case.

A sharp line between adverbs and these prepositions cannot well be drawn. Not prepositions only govern cases; we say also *südlich der Alpen, nahe der Grenze*. But that these prepositions were felt to be something distinct from adverbs appears from the fact that they often diverged from the adverbs from which they had been derived: *nach: nahe; in: ein*; others can hardly be associated in meaning: *Weg: wegen*, etc. But many prepositions are still identical in form with the adverbs.

§ 217. **Prepositions from Nouns.** A large number of prepositions are old nouns in various cases, some of them in the genitive: *behufs, namens, längs, mittels(t)*; others in the accusative: *halb in deshalb* (from an old noun *halbe* = side), apparently also *kraft*; *diesseits* and others with *-seits* are old accusatives with adverbial *-s* added. Still others are old datives, some having lost a preposition of older days: *wegen (von wegen), anstatt, seitens* with adverbial *-s*.

§ 218. **Prepositions from Adjectives.** As many adverbs, so also a few prepositions are derived from adjectives.

tives, some with an -s, some without any ending: *längs*, *unweit*, *laut*.

§ 219. **Compounds.** Still other prepositions are compounds or suffix derivatives: *über*: *ob*; *außer*: *aus*; *nächst*, superlative from *nahe*, *nach*; *vonseiten*, *inmitten*, etc.

B. INFLECTION

§ 220. **Inflection in General Meaning.** Inflection serves two rather widely different purposes. On the one hand, it modifies the content of the words inflected. Thus it indicates plurality in the noun. In the verb it denotes time and mode differences, in the adjective and adverb degree. In all these functions it really changes the content of the respective word. In other relations inflection serves more merely formal purposes, as in number distinctions of adjectives. In almost all cases inflection serves to make clear the relation in which the inflected word stands to others in the sentence.

I. Declension of Nouns

§ 221. **Meaning in General.** Declension, generally speaking, designates gender, number, and case, or the relation of the word to the rest of the sentence. It is applied to nouns, adjectives, and pronouns of various kinds; but it is found also in certain fixed groups of words, such as: *unsers Tun und Treibens*, *unsers Grund und Bodens*; *mit Herz und Hand* (instead of *Herzen*); *in die Kreuz und Quer*. Similarly in couplets of adjectives, especially in the poetic writings of Goethe and Schiller, but also of others: *in jung und alten Tagen*; *in froh und trüber Zeit*; *mit senkrecht oder schräger Strahlung*.

We shall very briefly treat in order, gender, number, and case as to their form and development.

a. *Grammatical Gender*

§ 222. **The Inconsistency of Gender Distinctions.** Analogous to the difference of sex in nature, the German language has words of masculine and of feminine gender; the other words designate no gender at all, they are neuter: neither. But only in a limited number of cases do gender and sex correspond. Often objects without sex are designated by words with either masculine or feminine gender: *Baum*, *Mund*, *Schrank*, *Löffel*, which are masculine, or *Zunge*, *Tinte*, *Feder*, *Tugend*, which are feminine. On the other hand, living beings are often designated by words with a gender not corresponding, or by neuter words: *Die Waise*, *die Geisel* designate either male or female; *das Weib* is neuter. In some cases difference of gender gives a different meaning to the same word: *der* and *das Tor*, *Bauer*, *Erbe*, *Messer*; *der* and *die Heide*, *Kunde*, *Sprosse*, *Schenke*; *der* and *das Band*, *Bund*, *Verdienst*, *Schild*, *Stift*, *Harz*, etc. In the case of a large number of words the gender is unsettled or different in different parts of the country.

§ 223. **The Probable Origin of Grammatical Gender.** Strictly speaking, this question need not be discussed in a treatment of grammar, except in so far as an explanation of the origin of gender distinction might throw light upon established usage. But as a matter of fact nothing that we know about the subject is useful in this way. If we treat the question, it is because students invariably ask it, and the answer can never be very clear, at best.

For many years scholars, having nothing better to propose in its place, were satisfied with the theory advanced by Adelung and worked out by Jacob Grimm. According to Grimm's view, the primitive Indo-European, idealized as he always was, had a wealth of imagination such as was unknown in historical times. Like all primitive people, he thought in symbols, not in words, in vivid pictures, not in pale abstract ideas. By the strength and bigness of some objects his fancy was stimulated to ascribe to them male character or masculine gender, while others induced him by their smallness and delicacy to make them feminine. It is a pretty theory, which attracts us by its poetic qualities. But it is safe to say that the best scholarship of today has dropped it. And looking at it soberly, it seems strange that the theory should have been in favor so long. What could, at any time, have made the distinction of sex in the organic world, the distinction of male and female, so prominent in the human mind, that it should force itself upon the attention of man in naming objects in which there is not the remotest suggestion of sex? In the majority of cases sex was never really indicated. Of the pronouns, only the third person distinguishes gender. Of nouns and adjectives, and this is true not only of the Germanic languages, the genitive, dative (and accusative) of the masculine and the neuter are alike both in the singular and the plural. If it was not necessary to distinguish sex in these instances, why should it have been in others? The suggestion to do without sex distinction in language entirely, seems odd at first sight, even to an English speaking person, who, but for his pronouns, is comparatively near the usage suggested.

But if it is not necessary to indicate the gender of many persons, as is the case in the plural pronoun *they*, why must I distinguish *he, she, it*? Why not also *I* or *thou*? In fact, there are whole groups of languages without a sign of gender distinction in pronouns.

Aside from this general objection to the theory, there are others, particularly that the qualities which are said to have suggested masculine or feminine gender are by no means confined to objects designated appropriately with masculine or feminine names. Why should *Fisch* be masculine and *Schlange* feminine; *Kröte* feminine and *Frosch* masculine? Why should the names of trees be feminine: *die Eiche, Esche, Linde, Tanne*, etc., and the names of most of the grains masculine: *der Hafer, Weizen, Roggen*?

The theory which seems more plausible than any other is that of Brugmann. Originally no distinction of sex was made in language at all. But nouns had various endings. Whatever may have been the purpose of them, at some stage in the development of the language this purpose grew obscure and new meanings became associated with the old endings. Similar processes we met with in considering the formation of words, again and again, and similar processes are going on in language at all times and in all places. A certain set of endings, represented in the Greek nominative singular by *ê*, in Latin by *â*, were connected with a number of words which in themselves designated females; and in time it was felt that the designation of the female was inherent in the ending; at any rate, the ending was influential enough to attract to all or most of the nouns having it the same form of pronoun habitually used in referring to females.

In this way, and to this extent, the nouns ending in Greek in *ê*, in Latin in *â* had become feminine. For it is very doubtful if ever the notion of female sex was at all clearly connected with objects designated by feminine nouns. Nouns with this ending having thus become feminine, it could not fail that another ending which happened to be connected with some designations for males should, by contrast, acquire masculine meaning, at least draw masculine pronouns to nouns with which it was connected. And after certain endings had pre-empted the field of masculine and feminine nouns, there was nothing left but to call nouns with any other ending neuter.

That, however, objects referred to by masculine or feminine pronouns should, upon some reflection, stimulate man's imagination so as to personify them, in a way, is not surprising. This is particularly apparent in ancient mythology and in art. The Greek *ἥλιος* (Helios, the sun) and *ὑπνος* (Hypnos, sleep) are men, because the names are masculine; *σελήνη* (Selene, the moon), *νύξ* (Nyx, night), and *ὑγίεια* (Hygieia, health) are women, because the names are feminine. *Amor* is a boy, *pax* (peace), *victoria*, and *justitia* are women.

During the history of the German language many nouns have changed their gender. In English, grammatical gender has been altogether obliterated, though it was quite as marked in Anglo-Saxon and even in Middle English as in the other Germanic dialects.

§ 224. **Rules for Gender.** If grammatical gender developed in the way indicated above, it is apparent that, except in nouns like *father*, *mother*; *brother*, *sister*; *cock*, *hen*; and others, in themselves designating the male and

the female of a species, the endings were of the greatest importance for determining gender. But in German, and to a slightly less degree in the Germanic languages in all stages, the endings are not sufficiently distinct, and it is not practicable to formulate any rules as to gender based upon them. The majority of the rules for gender distinction found in many practical grammars of German intended for foreigners are of little value because of the many exceptions to which they are subject. A few rules of the most general nature may, however, be helpful.

1. The gender of nouns denoting persons and animals, particularly mammals, in general corresponds to sex. Names for various kinds of fish, many of which are compounds with *-fisch*, are usually masculine. Names for birds and smaller animals vary as to gender. Names of young animals are neuter: *Kalb*, *Füllen*, *Küken*. But some masculine and feminine nouns denote either gender: *der Elefant*, possibly, but not generally, *die Elefantin*; but *der Frosch*, *die Kröte*, *die Schlange*, *der Rabe*, etc.

2. In general, words ending in *-e*, if they do not designate persons, are feminine, except the large class of collective and verbal nouns with the prefix *ge-* and the ending *-e*, which are neuter: *Gebirge*, etc.

3. Nouns of agency and instrument in *-er*, also those in *-el*, are masculine.

4. Nouns with the feminine suffix *-in* are feminine.

5. Diminutives in *-chen*, *-lein*, and the more colloquial *-el* and *-le* are neuter.

6. Abstract nouns of quality are feminine.

For the rest, it is probably easier to remember the gender of each noun individually.

b. *Number Distinction*

§ 225. **Singular, Dual, Plural.** The Indo-Germanic mother language had, besides forms for the singular and the plural, also special designations for two of a kind, the dual. But even in Gothic but few traces of the dual exist; in German it is not found; it was rarely used in Greek, not at all in Latin. The form will be mentioned in connection with the cases.

c. *The Cases*

§ 226. **Decaying of Forms.** German of today has still four cases, nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. In Idg. there were four more, the ablative, the locative, the instrumental, and the vocative. The ablative and locative had transferred their functions to other cases before the Germanic peoples left any monuments; they are not found in any Germanic language. In Gothic the vocative usually had the form of the accusative, in German that of the nominative. The instrumental is still occasionally found in Ohg. in the singular, particularly of neuters; traces of it occur in Mhg. and in almost impenetrable disguise in a few words in Modern German: *heute*, *heuer*, *desto*. English *the* in *the more*, *the less*.

In Gothic and in Ohg., case distinctions were made by means of changes in the final vowel of the stem and by added consonantal endings; in Ohg. mutation also soon acquired some functional meaning in declension. In Mhg. and Nhg. all final stem vowels, no matter what their form in earlier periods, uniformly became *e* or were dropped. Noun stems in earlier periods ended in various vowels or

in a variety of consonants, thus affording criteria by which it was possible to recognize as one large group a number of vocalic, as another, a number of consonantal declensions. Distinctly the various groups of the vocalic declension could not be recognized by the respective stem endings in any period of the Germanic language of which we have monuments. In Ohg., masculines of the various vocalic declensions were essentially alike in most of the cases, the consonantal endings, in cases that had any, being the same to start with. In Mhg. various final stem vowels became *e*, as stated, and now *all* former difference was obliterated. Only where this *e* represented an older *i* or *j*, would mutation of the stem vowel under stress occur. Today absence or presence of mutation alone points to former differences in the final vowels of the stem or similar differences in suffixes.

§ 227. **Paradigms of Strong Masculines.** The tendency to level as the language develops from the oldest stages to the present can best be seen in a few parallel paradigms, Gothic,¹ Old, Middle, and New High German.

¹ The later paradigm is not in all cases a phonologically consistent development of the older. In some paradigms the nominative and accusative are confused; in others the dative and genitive; or the dative is the continuation of some other, older case, e.g., the instrumental. The Gothic paradigm in particular shows discrepancies as compared with the rest.

1. *The Old -a Stems. Masculines.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	dags	tag	tac	Tag
Gen.	dagis	tages (-as)	tages	Tages
Dat.	daga	tage (-a)	tage	Tage (Tag)
Acc.	dag	tag	tac	Tag
Plur. Nom.	dagôðs	tagâ (-a)	tage	Tage
Gen.	dagê	tago	tage	Tage
Dat.	dagam	tagum (-om -un -on)	tagen	Tagen
Acc.	dagans	tagâ (-a)	tâge	Tage

In Ohg., as compared with the Gothic, the accusative, singular and plural, does service for the nominative also, and this is the case in the later stages. In Mhg. the dative singular and the nominative and accusative plural are identical in form. In Gothic all the cases of the plural are distinct; in Ohg. nominative and accusative agree; from Mhg. on, only the dative is distinct.

2. *The Old -ja Stems.¹ Masculines.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	hairdeis ¹	hirti	hirte	Hirt or Hirte
Gen.	hairdeis	hirtes (-as)	hirtes	Hirten
Dat.	hairdja	hirte (hirtie)	hirte	Hirten
Acc.	hairdi	hirti	hirte	Hirten
Plur. Nom.	hairdjôs	hirtâ (-a -e)	hirte	Hirten
Gen.	hairdjê	hirto (-eo -io)	hirte	Hirten
Dat.	hairdjam	hirtum (-un; -im -in)	hirten	Hirten
Acc.	hairdjans	hirtâ (-a -e)	hirte	Hirten

¹ The *ai* has the value of open *e* (*ä*); the *ei* = *i*. The "stem" of a noun appears in Gothic often in the dative singular. Short stems of this class in Gothic have *jis* in the nominative and genitive singular: *harjis*.

Even in Ohg. all the cases, except the nominative and accusative singular ending in *-i*, are like those of the former group, the *-a* declension. This *i* of the nominative and accusative, becoming *e* in Mhg., was instrumental in switching the majority of the simple nouns of this class over into the weak declension, whose masculine nominative singular also ended in *-e*. The largest contingent of this class, the nouns of agency in *-er* (Ohg. *-ari*), have dropped the *-e* in all cases, and together with nouns from other declensions, particularly the weak, they have formed a new class, in American grammars of German ordinarily called the first. Not a single noun of this class has in Nhg. the declension it might be expected to have.

3. *The Old i-Stems. Masculines.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	gasts	gast	gast	Gast
Gen.	gastis	gastes	gastes	Gastes
Dat.	gasta	gaste	gaste	Gaste (Gast)
Acc.	gast	gast	gast	Gast
Plur. Nom.	gasteis	gesti	geste	Gäste
Gen.	gastê	gesto (-eo)	geste	Gäste
Dat.	gastim	gestim (-in)	gesten	Gästen
Acc.	gastins	gesti	geste	Gäste

While in Ohg. and later the singular of this class was quite like that of the *-a* class, mutation and a distinct stem ending (*i*) kept the plurals from coalescing. In Mhg. this *i* was leveled to *e* as all the rest of the inflectional vowels. But mutation still appears in words belonging to this class. Indeed, it had come to be so

generally recognized as a sign of plurality that it encroached upon many masculines of the *a*-declension. Members of the *-ja* class should have mutation in the singular as well as in the plural, and the only two simple nouns belonging to the *-ja* class capable of mutation show it: *Rücken*, *Käse*. Nouns in *-er* did not take mutation regularly until Mhg. times.

4. *The Old u-Stems. Masculines.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	sunus	sunu (-o) sun	sun	Sohn
Gen.	sunaus	sunes (-ô)	sunes	Sohn(e)s
Dat.	sunau	sune (-iu -i)	sune	Sohn(e)
Acc.	sunu	sunu (-o)	sun	Sohn
Plur. Nom.	sunjus	*suni	süne	Söhne
Gen.	suniwê	suneo (-o)	süne	Söhne
Dat.	sunum	sunim (-in)	sünen	Söhnen
Acc.	sununs	suni	sune	Söhne

From the paradigms it appears that this class, distinct in its endings in Gothic, had in Ohg. times become quite like the *-i* stems. This may have been due to the fact that long stems belonging here, as *skilt* (shield), *heit* (Nhg. suffix *-heit*), regularly lost the *u* of the nominative and accusative singular and so became like *gast*. Only in the oldest sources of Ohg. isolated forms really representative of the old *u*-declension are found in sufficient number to reconstruct a paradigm.

There were a few other classes of masculines with clear distinctions in older periods, probably; but in Ohg. they had been absorbed by stronger groups.

§ 228. Paradigms of Strong Neuters. I. *The Old a-Class. Neuters.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	waúrd ¹	wort	wort	Wort
Gen.	waúrdis	wortes (-as)	wortes	Wort(e)s
Dat.	waúrda	worte (-a)	worte	Wort(e)
Acc.	waúrd	wort	wort	Wort
Plur. Nom.	waúrda	wort	wort	Worte Wörter
Gen.	waúrdê	worto	worte	Worte Wörter
Dat.	waúrdam	wortum (-om -un -on)	worten	Worten Wörtern
Acc.	waúrda	wort	wort	Worte Wörter

¹ *au* = *o*, open.

The neuters of this class correspond to the masculines of the same class and are like them except in the nominative and accusative. Notice that the nominative and accusative plural have no ending. Most of the neuters by far belonged to this class. In time the majority took the ending *-e* or *-er* in the plural. The old form is reflected in nouns of measure without endings: *drei Pfund Thee, vier Glas Wein*; by analogy also masculines: *drei Fuß Holz, drei Zoll*, etc. The ending *-e* in the plural is probably due to the influence of corresponding masculines. The *-er* comes from the class represented by *lamb*.

2. *The Old ja-Class. Neuters.* (Paradigm top of p. 191.)

Comment is hardly necessary. Here as in the masculines of the same class we expect mutation, and doubling of consonants, the result of which is seen in *Netz*: English *net*, and others. Here belong many deverbatives of the type: *Gedränge*, and collectives like *Gebirge*. These and

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	nati	nezzi	netze	Netz
Gen.	natjis	nezzes	netzes	Netzes
Dat.	natja	nezze (-ie)	netze	Netz(e)
Acc.	nati	nezzi	netze	Netz
Plur. Nom.	natja	nezzi (-iu)	netze	Netze
Gen.	natjê	nezzo (-io -eo)	netze	Netze
Dat.	natjam	nezzim (-in -um -un -on)	netzen	Netzen
Acc.	natja	nezzi	netze	Netze

also a few simple words as *Ende*, *Erbe*, have kept the *-e* in the nominative and accusative singular. Shifting to other classes is frequent: *Ende*, *Bett*, have weak plurals, but strong singulars. Others, like *Bild*, have taken the ending *-er*.

3. *The Old r-Class. Neuters.* Nouns of this class are not represented in Gothic, and even in Ohg. there were but seven regularly inflected according to this paradigm. Others took forms of it occasionally. The paradigm corresponds to the Latin *genus*, *generis*; Greek γένος, γένε(σ)ος.

	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	lamb	lamp	Lamm
Gen.	lambes	lambes	Lammes
Dat.	lambe	lambe	Lamm(e)
Acc.	lamb	lamp	Lamm
Plur. Nom.	lambir	lember	Lämmer
Gen.	lambiro	lember	Lämmer
Dat.	lambirum	lembern	Lämmern
Acc.	lambir	lember	Lämmer

The ending *-er* in the plural proved most productive, until today by far the majority of neuters have it. Moreover, masculines of various classes have adopted it: e.g., the old consonantal stem *Mann*; a number of old *a*-stems, as *Geist*, *Leib*; and *Wurm* of the old *i*-class. The reason for this great productiveness was undoubtedly the clearness with which this ending marked the plural from the singular.

4. *Other Small Classes of Neuters* are of too little importance to need mentioning.

§ 229. **Paradigms of Strong Feminines.** 1. *The Old ō-Class. Feminines only.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.		Nhg.	
Sing. Nom.	giba	geba	gebe	zal	Gabe	Zahl
Gen.	gibōs	geba (-u -o)	gebe	zal	Gabe	Zahl
Dat.	gibai	gebu (-o)	gebe	zal	Gabe	Zahl
Acc.	giba	geba	gebe	zal	Gabe	Zahl
Plur. Nom.	gibōs	gebâ	gebe	zal	Gaben	Zahlen
Gen.	gibô	gebôno	geben	zaln	Gaben	Zahlen
Dat.	gibôm	gebôm	geben	zaln	Gaben	Zahlen
Acc.	gibōs	gebâ	gebe	zal	Gaben	Zahlen

2. *The Old jô-Stems.* Only in the oldest period of Ohg. have words of this class in every case an *e*, representative of the old *j*, preceding the various endings of the *ô*-declension. But normally they are quite like the *ô*-class, only the stem vowel is mutated if capable of mutation, and there often is doubling of consonants, e.g., *Sippe*. A large contingent of this class are the feminines in *-in*: *kuningin*. Other examples, of which there are not very many, are

Brücke, Hölle, Hütte, Rede, Sünde, and a few others. The plural of both *ô-* and *-jô* stems is weak in Nhg.

3. *The Old u-Stems. Feminines.* They hardly need mentioning because of the small number of feminines in Gothic. *Hant* alone was left in Ohg. and that has the development of the old *u*-form in the dative plural only; in other cases it resembles the *i*-stems. Our *vorhanden*, instead of *vorhänden*, reflects the old form.

4. *The Old Feminine i-Class.*

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	krafts	kraft	kraft	Kraft
Gen.	kraftais	krefti (-e)	krefte	Kraft
Dat.	kraftai	krefti (-e)	krefte	Kraft
Acc.	kraft	kraft	kraft	Kraft
Plur. Nom.	krafteis ¹	krefti (-e)	krefte	Kräfte
Gen.	kraftê	krefto (-eo -io)	krefte	Kräfte
Dat.	kraftim	kreftim (-n)	kreften	Kräften
Acc.	kraftins	krefti	krefte	Kräfte

¹ *ei* = *i*.

The class is not large in Gothic, nor in German. Mutation in the genitive and dative singular began to disappear in Mhg. and is now gone. But a few words have carried the mutation into the nominative and accusative singular: *Stätte* side by side with *Statt*, *Fahrt*: *Fährte*. Others are *Blüte*, *Ente*, *Erbse*, *Gemse*, *Hüfte*, *Hürde*, *Mähne*, *Säule*, *Türe*. These and a number of others have now weak plurals. Many others have kept the strong plural with mutation: *Maus*, *Macht*, *Not*, *Stadt*, *Bank*, *Axt*, *Magd*, etc.

5. *Denominative and Deverbative Abstracts in -î.* In Gothic the denominatives, abstract nouns made from adjectives, were weak, ending in *-în*, while the deverbatives had the suffix *-îni*, i.e., were *-i* stems. But in Ohg. and afterwards in German they quite coincided, and today all are weak. Yet mutation appearing in members of the class finds its explanation from the older endings. The paradigm of the Ohg. had but one form for all the cases of the singular, a circumstance which may have helped to bring about the monotony of the present feminine singular. — The paradigm of the feminine *i*-declension being given under (4) in this section, we give here of the Gothic only the weak form of the denominatives.

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	managei	menigî or -în	menege	Menge
Gen.	manageins	menigî or -în	menege	Menge
Dat.	managein	menigî or -în	menege	Menge
Acc.	managein	menigî or -în	menege	Menge
Plur. Nom.	manageins	menigî or -în	menegen	Mengen
Gen.	manageinô	menigîno	menegen	Mengen
Dat.	manageim	manigîm (-în)	menegen	Mengen
Acc.	manageins	menigî (-în)	menegen	Mengen

In Nhg., nouns belonging to this class cannot be distinguished in form from old *ô*-stems like *Stimme*, *Bitte*, *Buße*, *Klage*, nor from *-jô* stems like *Sünde*, *Sippe*, *Brücke*, *Hölle*, *Hütte*, etc., with which it has also mutation in common, nor yet from old weak feminines like *Zunge*, *Amme*, *Blume*, *Gasse*, *Geige*, *Glocke*, and others.

§ 230. Paradigm of Weak Masculines, or n-stems.

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	aúhsa ¹	ohso	ohse	Ochse
Gen.	aúhsins	ohsen (-in)	ohsen	Ochsen
Dat.	aúhsin	ohsen (-in)	ohsen	Ochsen
Acc.	aúhsan	ohson (-un)	ohsen	Ochsen
Plur. Nom.	aúhsans	ohson (-un)	ohsen	Ochsen
Gen.	aúhsanê ²	ohsôno	ohsen	Ochsen
Dat.	aúhsam	ohsôm (-ôn)	ohsen	Ochsen
Acc.	aúhsans	ohson (-un)	ohsen	Ochsen

¹ *aú* = open *o*. ² The genitive plural of this particular word is *aúhsnê*.

The membership of this class was considerably larger in the earlier stages of the language. Instances are: *Knabe, Bote, Bürge, Schütze, Geselle, Erbe, Zeuge, Wille*, etc. Others have lost their *-e* in the nominative singular, as *Fürst, Graf, Herr, Mensch, Tor, Bär, Narr, Nerv*. A considerable number have, by analogy with old *a*-stems in *-n*, like *Wagen*, carried the *-n* of the oblique cases into the nominative singular and added *-s* to the genitive singular. Such are: *Backen, Balken, Ballen, Bissen, Bogen, Braten, Brunnen, Daumen, Flecken, Garten, Graben, Haken, Husten, Kasten, Knochen, Knoten, Kragen, Kuchen, Laden, Lappen, Magen, Pfosten, Rachen, Rasen, Schlitten, Stecken, Tropfen*, and others. This is a Nhg. innovation, but confined almost exclusively to nouns denoting inanimate objects. *Fohlen, Füllen* is an exception. In case of *Garten* and *Graben* the plural has mutation, following the old *i*-declension; *Bogen, Ka-*

sten, *Kragen*, *Magen*, and *Laden* fluctuate between the mutated and the regular forms in the plural.

Bauer, *Nachbar*, *Pfau*, *Spatz*, and *Untertan* fluctuate in the singular between weak and strong declension, the first two being usually weak, the last three strong. All are weak in the plural.

A few words are not settled as to the new form with *n* or the old one in *-e* in the nominative singular. The more common ones are: *Friede*: *Frieden*; *Funke*: *Funken*; *Haufe*: *Haufen*; *Same*: *Samen*; *Schade*: *Schaden*.

Finally, a number of formerly weak nouns are now quite like members of the old *a*-class: *Aar*, *Adler*, *April*, *Besen*, *Blitz*, *Bräutigam*, *Brei*, *Dotter*, *Gemahl*, *Hafer*, *Hamster*, *Junker*, *Käfer*, *Kern*, *Leichnam*, *Lenz*, *Mai*, *März*, *Mond*, *Nabel*, *Schelm*, *Schiefer*, *Stern*. But in case of a number, old weak genitives exist in compounds: *Maiennacht*, *Märzenveilchen*, *Mondenschein*, *Schelmenglanz*.

§ 231. Paradigm of Weak Feminines, or *n*-Stems.

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	tuggô ¹	zunga	zunge	Zunge
Gen.	tuggôns	zungûn	zungen	Zunge
Dat.	tuggôn	zungûn	zungen	Zunge
Acc.	tuggôn	zungûn	zungen	Zunge
Plur. Nom.	tuggôns	zungûn	zungen	Zungen
Gen.	tuggônô	zungôno (-ôn)	zungen	Zungen
Dat.	tuggôm	zungôm (-ôn)	zungen	Zungen
Acc.	tuggôns	zungûn	zungen	Zungen

¹ *gg* = *ng*.

Fluctuations between this and the old *ô*-declension occur already in Ohg. They become more frequent in Mhg. In Nhg. all weak feminines have lost their inflection in the singular, i.e., have become like the old *o*-stems; but they have remained weak in the plural and have, besides, attracted a large number of old *o*- and *jo*-stems to their form in the plural. So that the final outcome is that the great majority of feminines are strong in the singular but weak in the plural. However, remnants of the older inflected weak feminines are frequent in compounds: *Taubensinn*, *Blumenduft*, *Sonnenschein*, *Wittwentrauer*, *Rosenduft*, *Glockenklang*, *Scheibenschießen*, *Kirchenluft*, *Wochenblatt*.

§ 232. Weak Neuters.

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	haírtô ¹	herza	herze	Herz
Gen.	haírtins	herzen (-in)	herzen	Herzens
Dat.	haírtin	herzen (-in)	herzen	Herzen
Acc.	haírtô	herza	herze	Herz
Plur. Nom.	haírtôna	herzun	herzen	Herzen
Gen.	haírtanê	herzôno (-ôn)	herzen	Herzen
Dat.	haírtam	herzôm (-ôn)	herzen	Herzen
Acc.	haírtôna	herzun	herzen	Herzen

¹ *ai* = open *e*.

The class of weak neuters had in Gothic, not counting a few doubtful words, but six, in Ohg. and Mhg. but four members: *Herz*, *Ohr*, *Auge*, *Wange*. In Nhg. *Herz* has taken an -s in the genitive, *Auge* and *Ohr* are strong in the singular, and *Wange* has become a feminine.

MASCULINES

Gothic			Old High German			Middle High German			New High German		
a	ja	i u n	a	ja	i u n	a	ja	i u n	a	ja	i u n
Sing. Nom. Gen. Dat. Acc.	{ eis jis	s	us	a	(u)	—	—	e	—	(e)	—
	{ eis jis	is	aus	ins	es	es	es	en	(e)s	(e)s	en
	a	a	au	in	e	e	e	en	(e)	(e)	en
	—	—	u	an	(u)	—	—	en	—	(e)	en
Plur. Nom. Gen. Dat. Acc.	ôs	jôs	jus	ans	â	â	â	en	e	—	en
	ê	jê	iwê	anê	o	e	e	en	e	—	en
	am	jam	um	am	im	en	en	en	en	—n	en
	ans	jans	uns	ans	â	e	e	en	e	—	en

§ 233. **Results.** It hardly needs pointing out that throughout its history the German language has shown a tendency to obliterate not only earlier differences between various declensional paradigms, but also distinctions of the various cases within the same paradigm. Confusion of the various classes began largely because of similarity among many of the forms; sometimes also identity of gender seems to have attracted to each other nouns of different declensions, as in the case of the neuters with the *-er* plural. On the other hand, the gender of nouns was sometimes changed because particular forms suggested other paradigms. Thus the plural of the masculine *tran: trene* became the feminine singular *Träne*.

The chief cause of the confusion, the leveling of distinctive differences in the various classes, becomes particularly apparent from the tables. In the one on page 198 the various case endings in the different classes of masculine nouns are arranged in parallel columns for the dialects whose paradigms were exhibited before.

Condensing this table once more, we have the following number of distinct forms for each case as offered by the various classes in the different stages of German:

	Gothic	Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
Sing. Nom.	4	3	2	(2)
Gen.	4	2	2	2
Dat.	4	2	2	2
Acc.	4	3	3	3
Plur. Nom.	5	3	2	2
Gen.	4	3	2	2
Dat.	4	3	1	1
Acc.	4	3	2	2

That is, while in Gothic the nominative singular might end in four distinctly different ways, there were left for it but three in Ohg., two in Mhg.; the parenthesis for the *z* in Nhg. means that most of the nouns of masculine gender in Nhg. having *e* in the nominative singular may drop it. The nominative singular masculine in that case is alike in all declensions. For the rest the table explains itself. As a matter of fact, to estimate fairly the probable tendency to confusion, we ought not to count any final *e* in the nominative and accusative singular of a Mhg. or Nhg. noun as a declensional ending, because it was here no longer felt as such, except in the case of weak nouns. That makes in Mhg. and Nhg. the strong nouns of all classes alike in every case of the singular; i.e., the nominative and accusative singular of all classes are without ending, the genitive has (*e*)*s*, the dative *e* or no ending. Besides, all the differences between the various strong classes in the plural have been obliterated in Mhg. and Nhg.

As the masculines in the table on page 198, so the neuters are treated in the one on page 201, and the feminines on page 202.

It is not difficult to draw the necessary conclusions from these tables. The differences between the corresponding cases of the various classes are constantly obliterated, and thereby the classes reduced in number. A few of the results may be given in a little more detail in §§ 234-240.

NEUTERS

	Gothic			Ohg.			Mhg.			Nhg.		
	a	ja	r	n	a	ja	r	n	a	ja	r	n
Sing. Nom.	—	i	—	a	—	e	—	e	—	—	—	—, e
Gen.	is	jis	es	en	es	es	es	en	(e)s	(e)s	(e)s	ns, s
Dat.	a	ja	e	en	e	e	e	en	(e)	(e)	(e)	n, e
Acc.	—	i	—	a	—	e	—	e	—	—	—	—, e
Plur. Nom.	a	ja	air	un	—	e	air	en	e, er	e	air	en, er
Gen.	é	jé	airo	ôno	e	e	air	en	e, er	e	air	en, er
Dat.	am	jam	airum	ôm	en	en	airn	en	en, ern	en	airn	en, ern
Acc.	a	ja	air	un	—	e	air	en	e, er	e	air	en, er

FEMININES

	Gothic				Ohg.				Mhg.				Nhg.			
	ô	i	(in)	n	ô	i	î	n	ô	i	î	n	ô	i	î	n
Sing. Nom.	a	s	ei	ô	a	—	î(n)	a	e	—	—	e	e	—	—	e
Gen.	ôs	ais	eins	ôns	a	î	î(n)	ûn	e	î	î	en	e	—	î	e
Dat.	ai	ai	ein	ôn	u	î	î(n)	ûn	e	î	î	en	e	—	î	e
Acc.	a	—	ein	ôn	a	—	î(n)	ûn	e	—	î	en	e	—	î	e
Plur. Nom.	ôs	eis	eins	ôns	â	î	î(n)	ûn	e	î	î	en	en	î	î	en
Gen.	ô	é	einô	ônô	ôno	îeo	îno	ôno	en	î	î	en	en	î	î	en
Dat.	ôm	im	eim	ôm	ôm	îim	îim	ôm	en	îen	îen	en	en	îen	îen	en
Acc.	ôs	eis	eins	ôns	â	î	î(n)	ûn	e	î	î	en	en	î	î	en

Specifically New High German Innovations

I. *Strong Nouns*

§ 234. **The Masculines.** 1. The old masculine *a*-class (*Tag*), having become identical in form with the *ja*-class, has the appearance of two classes in Nhg. because the nominative plural of some nouns ends in *e*, while that of others has no ending. Historically, the latter group, ending in *el*, *en*, *er* (*ern*), and *sel*, dropped the final *e* in the nominative plural, while the others kept it. The *i*-declension exerted a very strong influence upon nouns of the combined *a*- and *ja*-class; in analogy with nouns of the *i*-class, mutation was introduced in the plural of all but about thirty nouns capable of mutation, and not a few of these thirty, particularly in the dialects, admit the mutated vowel occasionally.

2. An entirely new class of masculines is the one represented by *Wald*: *Wälder*, made after the pattern of the neuters *Kalb*: *Kälber*.

3. The old *i*-class has since Ohg. times constantly gained in membership, drawing largely from the *a*-class, but also from the weak declension: *Schaden*, *Bogen*, *Braten*, *Garten*, and others. The mutated stem vowel, phonologically developed in this class, offered a ready means of clearly distinguishing the plural from the singular; the growth of the *-er* ending is due to the same cause. Few, *Lachs*, *Aal*, *Pfuhl*, have lost mutation in the plural. But in a number of cases, really plural forms have become singular and feminine: *die Schläfe*: South German *der Schlaf*; *Schürze*: *Schurz*; *Träne*: Mhg. *der trân*; *Zähre*: Mhg. *der zaher*; *Tücke*: Mhg. *der tuck*.

§ 235. **The Feminines.** 1. The singular of the old *ô*-class has become the model for all feminines, having no distinguishing endings whatever (*Gabe, Zahl*; § 229, 1).

2. The old *i*-class still has its distinct plural with mutation (§ 229, 4). But a goodly number have also taken the weak plural. And here, as in case of masculine *i*-stems, a number of old plurals now do service for the singular, their places being taken by weak plurals: *Fährte, Ente, Säule, Biene, Stätte*. Side by side with *Stätte* we still have *Stadt* and *Statt*; also *Fährte: Fahrt*, with different meaning. The genitive and dative singular have now the same vowel as the nominative.

§ 236. **The Neuters.** 1. The old *a*-class (§ 228, 1), represented by *wort*, in so far as the nominative plural was like the nominative singular, is now represented only by diminutives in *-chen* and *-lein* and by neuters in *-en, -er, -el*, where an *-e* could not so readily attach itself. Most of the former members of the class have gone over to the class with the plural in *-er* or to a new class with *-e* in the plural. Some former neuters are now masculines, a few, feminines: *Block, Honig, Lohn, Mord, Trank; Ähre, Wolke*.

2. The old *ja*-class (§ 228, 2), whose nominative singular and plural ended in *-e*, have for the most part lost this *-e* in the singular, but they have kept it in the plural, thus giving rise to the new class mentioned under (1). Many others of this class have *-er* in the nominative plural. Only a few collectives and others in *b, d, g, s* retain the *e* in the singular also: *Gebirge, Getöse, Gesinde, Getriebe*, and others. Some retaining the *-e* in the nom-

inative singular have become feminines: *Beere, Wette, Grütze. Auge, Ohr, Bett, Hemd, Ende, Gau*, are now strong in the singular, weak in the plural.

3. The old *r*-stems, represented by *Kalb: Kälber*, have grown very much in numbers, as mentioned before.

2. Weak Nouns

§ 237. **The Masculines.** The weak masculines have changed from the Mhg. only in dropping the *-e* after consonants whose value is not affected by coming into the final position (but cp. § 93, 2, *b*).

A few, having lost the *e* of the nominative singular, became strong in the singular: *Nachbars: Nachbarn; Schmerz (Brei, Hafer, have no plurals), Vetter, Bauers: Bauern*. Others of this kind are strong in the plural also: *Hahn, Käfer, Ärmel, Besen, Stern, Mond*, etc.

A large number, particularly nouns denoting lifeless things, have introduced the *-n* from the oblique cases into the nominative singular also and are now declined like *Wagen*, an old *a*-stem: *Balken, Ballen, Bissen*, etc.

Still others have become feminines; but a number of these have, beside the feminine form in *e*, a masculine either in *-en* or without ending: *die Karre: der Karren; die Backe: der Backen; die Heuschrecke: der Heuschreck; also die Scherbe: der Scherben; die Strieme: der Striemen; die Zacke: der Zacken; die Lade: der Laden*; the dialects have similar couplets in larger numbers.

§ 238. **The Feminines.** The weak feminines have all become strong in the singular (like *Ehre* of the old *ô*-class), and most of the strong feminines have become weak in the plural. The older form of the singular is traditionally

kept in many compounds and some standing phrases: *auf Erden, Sonnenschein, Erdenlust, Rosenduft*, etc.

§ 239. **The Neuters.** The few Mhg. weak neuters still left in Nhg. have become strong in the singular and remain weak in the plural. *Herz* has kept its old declension, except that it drops the *e* of the nominative and accusative singular, and adds an *s* (*Herzens*) in the genitive singular. *Wange* has become a feminine. *Ohr* and *Auge* are strong, like *Wort*, in the singular, but they are weak in the plural; similarly *Bett* and *Hemd*, which are old *a-* (*ja-*)stems (like *Wort, Netz*).

§ 240. **The Loss Remedied.** In so far as it was the purpose of inflectional endings to indicate in the form of the noun the various cases, genders, and numbers, their usefulness was not impaired by reducing the number of classes of declension. But this was not the only result of the general leveling. Also the characteristic differences of the various cases were so much obscured that today the majority of the forms have to serve in more cases than one, some in as many as seven. But speakers do not easily allow themselves to be deprived of possibilities for making distinctions which they had once the means of making. On the contrary, old distinguishing signs are usually preserved from decay until their usefulness has been impaired by new devices serving the same purpose. As the inflectional endings decreased in distinctness, the use of the article grew in frequency, losing at the same time its former pronominal force, until today in not a few instances it has no function save that of indicating the case of the noun with which it is coupled. In English, prepositions

and in part rigidly fixed word order serve the same purpose.

II. Declension of Pronouns

§ 241. **The Personal Pronouns.** The pronoun has its own declension. It is instructive to compare the Mhg. paradigm with that of today. A number of irregularities are thus explained.

ich	dû	er	sie	ez	Reflexive
mîn	dîn	[es] sîn	ir	es	sîn
mir	dir	im	ir	im	
mich	dich	in	sie	ez	sich
		⏟			
wir	ir		sie		
unser	iuwer		ir		
uns	iu		in		
uns (unsich)	iuch		sie		sich

In Modern German the regular third person masculine singular genitive *es*, which was almost obsolete in Mhg., has been entirely replaced by *sein* or *seiner*; also the forms *mein*, *dein*, which we should regularly expect, have been lengthened, or rather have given place to *meiner*, *deiner*; the genitive singular of the feminine is *ihrer*, so is also the plural genitive; the dative plural is *ihnen* instead of *ihn*; the genitive singular neuter is ordinarily *sein* or *seiner*, if it is used at all. The reflexive for the dative was in Mhg. the dative form of the appropriate personal pronoun: *im*, *ir* for the singular, *in* for the plural of the third person. In Modern German *sich* stands for both dative and accusative, singular and plural. But remnants of the older conditions are still quite common. The short forms of the genitive singular masculine and

neuter, *sein*, and for the first and second person, *mein*, *dein*, are still often found, particularly in more elevated diction. In the Bible, and also in the writings of Lessing, Schiller and Goethe, the reflexive for the dative of the third singular is quite often *ihm* (*ihr*) instead of *sich*: *Unser keiner lebt ihm selber*. Similarly *ihnen* for the plural dative: *Sie haben ihnen ein gegossen Kalb gemacht*. *Wer sich Knall und Fall ihm selbst zu leben nicht entschließen kann, der lebet andrer Sklav' auf immer* (Lessing).

Particularly the older form of the neuter genitive singular of the third person, *es*, is still very often found, though it is now ordinarily felt not as a genitive, but as an accusative. *Sie habens keinen Gewinn* (Luther). — *Ich habe es alles Macht*. *Da hing ich und war mirs mit Grausen bewußt* (Schiller: *Taucher*). — In standing phrases: *Ich bin es zufrieden, bin es satt, bin es überdrüssig, bin es müde, bin es los* (*bin es sicher*), *geständig*. *Er hat es kein Hehl*. *Ich weiß es dir Dank*. *Eh ich michs versah*.

§ 242. **The Demonstrative Pronoun and the Definite Article.** Throughout the Mhg. period the demonstrative pronoun *der*, *diu*, *daz* did not differ in its inflection from the definite article, and to this day the pronoun is declined like the article when it is used attributively, before a noun: *Des Mannes bin ich gewiß*. But standing alone, as a real pronoun, we have the lengthened forms *dessen*, *deren*, *dessen* for the genitive singular and *derer*, *deren*, *denen* for genitive and dative plural. Occasionally, in connection with titles, an older form *dero* is also found for the genitive plural. In Luther's writings the older short forms are quite common, even where the word is used

pronominally: *Des freuet sich der Engel Schar. Des alles ich ihm zu danken und zu loben, dafür zu dienen und gehorsam zu sein schuldig bin.* — Also in Schiller and Goethe such forms are found: *Des wird der Mutter angst und bange.* Proverbial: *Des Brot ich eß, des Lied ich sing.*

Dieser, jener are declined like strong adjectives; this is also true of *solcher*, except when it is preceded by the indefinite article.

Derjenige, derselbe are declined doubly, *der* like the article, *selbe, jenige* like the weak adjective. They are compounds. *Selber, selbe, selbes* were originally regular independent adjectives, but they are now hardly in use. Only the masculine form is still common as an intensive pronoun for any gender, *er, sie, es selber*. Similarly also the genitive form *selbs* < *selbes* > *selbst*. The *t* is inorganic, as in *einst*, English *oncet, jetzt, niemand, jemand*.

§ 243. **The Interrogative Pronoun.** The interrogative pronoun for persons, whether masculine, feminine, or neuter, is *wer*; the one for things, *was*. The genitive in its older form is *wes*, now commonly *wessen*. The dative of the neuter is no longer used. A substitute for this dative, when depending on prepositions, is *wo-*, *wor-*, *war-*: *wozu, woraus, warum* (*war* = accusative). Sometimes also *zu was, mit was, um was*, etc., are found.

In *was für ein, was für*, only the indefinite article *ein* is declined, like the indefinite article if in connection with a noun, but with the endings of the strong adjective if standing alone: *was für einer, eine, eines* or *eins*. — *Welcher, welche, welches* are usually interrogative adjectives and declined like the strong adjective. If followed by an indefinite article they are not declined.

§ 244. **The Relative Pronoun.** There is no special relative pronoun in the Germanic languages. In German the demonstrative *der, die, das*, the interrogative *wer, was, welcher, welche, welches*, and less often the adverbs *so* and *wo* are used, the last two particularly for the purpose of giving antique coloring to one's diction. The declension is like that of the demonstratives or the interrogatives.

§ 245. **The Indefinite Pronoun.** *Jemand, niemand, jedermann, man, nichts*, and *etwas* are called indefinite pronouns. *Jemand, niemand, jedermann* are compounds with *mann* as the basis, and they were originally declined just like *Mann*. The *d* is inorganic. *Jedermann* has an *s* in the genitive, but no other declension. *Jemand, niemand* have *s* or *es* in the genitive, and they may or may not have *em* or *en* in the dative and *en* in the accusative. — *Man* is not declined. If it is to be used in the dative or the accusative, corresponding forms of *einer* — always the masculine — are substituted; sometimes also forms from *wir*, e.g., *Man spricht selten von der Tugend, die man hat, aber desto öfter von der, die uns fehlt* (Lessing, *Minna von Barnhelm*). — *Etwas* and *nichts* are not declined. Traces of the earlier declension of *nichts* (< *niht*) are found in the stereotype forms *zunichte, mit nichten*.

III. Declension of Adjectives

§ 246. **General Remarks.** In the declension of the adjective we distinguish, just as in that of the noun, a weak and a strong form. The strong form as compared with the weak implies fundamentally a generalization; i.e., it ascribes the quality for which the adjective stands

to an object as one of a class. *Ein guter Mann* is about equivalent to *ein Mann der gut ist*. The weak ending, on the contrary, individualizes: *der gute Mann* is not any man to whom the quality of goodness may be assigned, but a particular good-man, an object in whom the quality is inherent, not one to whom it is ascribed. We no longer feel that this distinction lies in the different adjective endings, but ascribe it rather to the definite and indefinite articles. As a matter of fact, the weak ending coincided in its function nearly with the definite article or demonstrative pronoun in one of its phases, and the indefinite article adapted itself to the strong endings. The article is merely a coincident, not the cause of the various endings. In the earlier stages of the language either the weak or the strong endings of the adjective could be used with either article or without any article at all. — Early in the history of the Germanic languages the weak endings were used to form proper nouns from adjectives, e.g., *Weise*, *Schwarze*. In form, the strong endings coincide in the main with the declension of the demonstrative pronoun, the weak ones with the weak declension of the nouns. Neither inflection is the one originally belonging to the adjective, which was inflected quite as the nouns, as may be seen in the Greek and the Latin declensions. The twofold declension as we have it is a Germanic innovation, though instances of confusion between adjectival and pronominal inflection occur in some other Idg. languages also.

§ 247. **The Paradigms of the Strong Adjective.** It may be interesting to compare the modern paradigm with the Ohg. and the Mhg., in order to see the gradual change.

<i>Old High German</i>				<i>Middle High German</i>		
	Mas.	Fem.	Neut.	Mas.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing. Nom.	blintêr	blintu	blintaz	blinder	blindiu	blindez
	blint	blint	blint	blint	blint	blint
Gen.	blintes	blintera	blintes	blindes	blinder	blindes
Dat.	blintemu	blinteru	blintemu	blindem(e)	blinder	blindem(e)
Acc.	blintan	blinta	blintaz	blinden	blinde	blindez
Plur. Nom.	blintê	blintô	blintu	blinde	blinde	blindiu
	blinterô	blinterô	blinterô	blinder	blinder	blinder
	blintêm	blintêm	blintêm	blinden	blinden	blinden
	blintê	blintô	blintu	blinde	blinde	blindiu

New High German

	Sing.			Plur.
	Mas.	Fem.	Neut.	
Nom.	blinder	blinde	blindes blind	blinde
Gen.	blindes, (n)	blinder	blindes, (n)	blinder
Dat.	blindem	blinder	blindem	blinden
Acc.	blinden	blinde	blindes	blinde

While the change in the paradigm from Ohg. to Nhg. is as great as it is in the case of the noun declension, it appears that through it but few real distinctions have been obliterated. Only in the nominative and accusative plural the Ohg. has three, the Mhg. two distinct forms for the three genders, which in Nhg. are the same.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century a tendency has been noticeable to substitute the weak ending in the genitive singular of the masculine and neuter adjective before nouns of the strong declension forming their genitive in *s*: *sanften Geistes*, etc.

In one respect the strong adjective in Nhg. differs from the strong adjectives in Ohg. and Mhg. The latter have in the nominative singular of all genders an uninflected form as well as a form with distinct endings. This

uninflected form was freely used in attributive position as well as in the predicate. Nhg. sanctions this use for the neuter alone, and then only in elevated diction, *lieb Kind, gut Ding. Voll* and *all* are old uninflected forms. On the other hand, Ohg. and Mhg. frequently had the inflected forms in the apposition, and Ohg. also in the predicate; we hardly recognize it in *voller: ein Mensch voller Schwächen*, etc.

§ 248. **The Weak Adjective.** The weak adjective is inflected quite like the weak nouns of the three genders. Earlier differences in gender have now been obliterated. In Mhg. the accusative singular of the weak feminine as well as of the masculine ended in *-en*, not in *-e* as in Nhg.: *die lieben frouwen: die liebe Frau*. The same assimilation of the nominative and accusative singular we found also in the weak feminine noun.

§ 249. **Comparison of Adjectives.** The endings for the comparative and the superlative of the adjective (and the adverb) go back to two sets of endings in the older stages of the language; or rather, *-s* (which became *r*) and *-st*, being joined as suffixes to stems ending respectively in *i* or *o*, grew together with these vowels and resulted in one set as *-ir, -ist*, the other as *-or, -ost*. The first set caused mutation of the stem vowel wherever this was possible, the other did not. In Mhg. the two sets fell together in *-er, -est*, and so even in Mhg. the feeling as to where the mutated vowel belonged and where not became unsafe, and as a result mutation is sometimes found where it does not belong and is absent where it might be expected. In general, the later the period, the more the mutated form predominates. In case of *zart*,

glatt, gesund, naß, schmal, and possibly some others usage is not settled to this day.

Hoch, as compared with *höher, höchst*, reflects an older rule of the language, according to which *ch* in final position and before *t* and *st* changed to *h* when it became medial before vowels; similarly *nahe, näher: nächst, nach*.

Compound adjectives sometimes indicate the comparison in the first part, sometimes in the second: *maßgebender: höchstgestellt, weitreichender* and *weiterreichend, wohlschmeckender* and *besser schmeckend*, etc.

IV. Conjugation

§ 250. **The two Main Conjugations.** We have in German, as in English and in all Germanic languages, two conjugations called the weak and the strong. The essential difference is in the formation of the tense stems. The strong verbs form their preterite and perfect participle by an internal change, the gradation of the stem vowel, or Ablaut; the weak verbs use suffixes for this purpose. A few weak verbs have gradation, e.g., *bringen*.

§ 251. **The Tenses of the Verb.** Of the original tenses, as found e.g. in Greek, the Germanic languages had preserved but two, the present and the preterite. The present expresses that an action is going on at the time of speaking, but often also that it will occur later; in this case it assumes the function of the future. On the other hand, in vivid narration the present may also relate an action as having occurred at some time previous. The preterite relates an action as having occurred before the time of speaking.

Probably under the influence of the classical languages, compound tenses were formed in the German language by means of which finer distinctions can be made. These are the perfect, the pluperfect, the future, and the future perfect. The perfect, formed by forms of *haben* or *sein* with the perfect participle, expresses really that a condition exists as the result of previous action: *ich bin gekommen* means really, I am one who has come, who is here, *ich habe ihn geschlagen* = *ich habe ihn als einen Geschlagenen*. The pluperfect expresses an action as having occurred, or rather a state as having come about previous to a stated or known time in the past. The future, more than any other tense, has probably always been, at any rate it is now more or less a tense on paper. In common life it is often not used where it might be expected, because generally it is quite apparent from attending circumstances whether a present tense expresses an action as now going on or as one to be looked for later. The regular form for the future is the infinitive form of the verb combined with *werden*. The future perfect is, if possible, still less common. It is made by combining the present tense of *werden* with the perfect infinitive of the verb to be used. Details will be given in Part II.

§ 252. **The Moods.** We have in German three moods: the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. The indicative simply states that the action expressed in the verb takes place, without bringing into play any volitional element or any element of doubt or contingency.

In the imperative the speaker insists upon some one else's doing the action expressed in the verb, usually the second person singular, sometimes the second person

plural. So-called imperatives for the first and third persons, whether singular or plural, are really optatives.

The subjunctive has two main functions, which are indicated by the names optative and potential. The optative expresses a wish, with more or less importunity and authority, varying in this respect so that, on the one side, the optative approaches very near to the imperative, on the other it verges on the potential. In the optative the will or wish of the speaker finds expression. In the potential, on the other hand, the intellect asserts itself, giving expression to doubt in all degrees, from that of merely not asserting any opinion with regard to the truth or falseness of a statement, as is the case in the subjunctive of indirect discourse, to that of total denial, as is the case in conditions contrary to fact.

In the case of the subjunctive also we distinguish the various tenses, but they have lost all temporal force.

§ 253. **The Voices.** We distinguish in German two voices, the active and the passive. The Gothic has still some traces of a special form for the passive, which must at some time have existed in all Germanic languages, but which has been lost in German as in most of the others. The active voice regards the action expressed in the verb as issuing from the grammatical subject; the passive verb has as its grammatical subject the object, upon which the action terminates. Reflexive verbs are verbs whose action terminates upon their subject.

a. General Development of the Forms

§ 254. **Loss and Gain.** If we compare German with older Idg. languages, e.g., Greek, we notice that the

verb has lost a large number of inflectional forms. We have but two tenses, present and preterite, as compared with the seven in Greek; we have but three modes, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative, whereas the Greek, and Idg., have a fourth, the optative — infinitive and participle are not modes —; we have but two numbers, as compared with three in Greek; and, finally, we have but one voice, the active. — To make good this loss, of which particularly the early translators became aware, compound tenses were formed in place of those that were lacking, and for the lost simple passive a substitute was found in using some auxiliary with the perfect participle of the verb.

Besides, a number of earlier differences as to form have been leveled, the changes thus involved affecting partly the stem vowel, partly the final consonant of the stem (leveling of differences due to Verner's Law), partly the endings.

b. Internal Changes Due to Leveling

§ 255. Gradation, Earlier and Now, in the Strong Verb. As to the causes and theory of gradation compare §§ 83–89. Compare also what is said in § 92 about the change known commonly as breaking. Following the arrangement into groups as given in § 89 we have for Ohg. the following status, and alongside of it the development in Mhg. and Nhg. The first column in each group or block represents the present stem, in the infinitive and the first person singular if the two differ, else in the infinitive alone; the second column the past singular, the third the past plural, and the fourth the perfect participle.

I. *a.* Representing the majority of the members.

rītu	reit	ritum	giritan	rīte	reit	rīten	gerīten	reiten	ritt	geritten
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b. Before *h*, *w*.

dīhen	dēh	digum	gidigan	dīhen	dēch	digen	gedigen	gedeihen	gedieh	gediehen (-gen)
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II. *a.* Before *h* and all dentals (*d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *r*, *l*).

{ biotan	{ biutu	bót	butum	gibotan	{ biute	bót	buten	geboten	bieten	bót	gebóten
{ siodan	{ siudu	sód	suŕum	gisotan	{ sieden	sót	suŕen	gesoten	siedēn	solt	gesottēn
{ ziohan	{ ziuhu	zôh	zugum	gizogan	{ ziehen	zôch	zugen	gezogen	ziehen	zog	gezogen

b. Before other consonants.

{ biogan	{ biugu	boug	bugum	gibogan	{ biegen	bouc	bugen	gebogen	gen	bog	gebogen, but cp. beugen < *baugjan
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c. A few verbs with *u* as stem vowel. They are, as far as preserved, strong till today.

sûgan	soug	sugum	gisogan	sûgen	souc	sugen	gesogen	saugen	sog	gesogen,
sûfan	souf	sufum	gisofan	sûfen	souf	sufen	gesofen	but sâugen	soff	< *sougjan
								saufen	soff	gesoffen,
								but ersâufen	< *soufjan	

III. a. Verbs in *m* or *n* + consonant (also *mm* and *nn* if of older origin).

rinnan	ran	runnum	girunnan	rinnen	rann	runnen	gerunnen	rinnen	rann	geronnen
bindan	band	bunnum	gibuntan	binden	bant	bunden	gebunden	binden	band	gebunden;
								cp. <i>sûnge</i>		

b. Verbs in *l* or *r* + consonant.

{ helfan	half	hulfum	giholfan	{ helfen	half	hulfen	geholfen	helfen	half	geholfen
{ hilfû				{ hilfe						(hülfe!)
{ werdian	ward	wurtum	giwortan	{ werden	wart	wurden	geworden	werden	{ ward	wurde geworden
{ wirdû				{ wirde					{ wurde	(würde!)

IV. a. Verbs in simple *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*.

{ stelan	stal	stâlum	gistolan	{ stein	stal	stâlen	gestoln	stehlen	stahl	gestohlen
{ stilu				{ stil						

b. A few verbs in *ch*, *ff* went over to this class early.

{ brechan { brichu { treffen { trifu	brach	bráchum gibrochan	{ brechen { briche { treffen { triffe	brach	bráchen gebrochen	brechen brach gebrochen
	traf	tráfum getroffan		traf	tráfen getroffen	treffen, etc. (the only one in <i>ff</i>)

V. Verbs in any consonant but *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *ch*, *ff*.

{ geban { gibu { sitzen { sitzu	gab	gábum gígeban	{ geben { gibe { sitzen { sitzen	gab	gaben (ge)geben	geben gab gegeben
	saz	sázum gísezzen		saz	sázen gesezzen	sitzen saß gessen

VI. In Gothic the vowels are *ǎ*, *ǫ*, *ǫ*, *a*; Ohg. *a*, *uo*, *uo*, *a*. Almost all the verbs end in single consonant.

faran slahan	fuor	fuorum gífaran	varn slahan	vuor	vuoren geslagen	fahren fuhr gefahren
	sluog	sluogum gíslagan		sluoc	sluogen geschlagen	schlagen schlug geschlagen

With a present suffix *j* (found also in *sitzen* < *sitjan*, class V) we have:

heffen skepfen	huob skuof	huobum skuofum	gihaben giskaffen	heben schaffen	huop schuof	huoben schuofen	gehaben geschaffen	heben schaffen	gehoben geschaffen (Schöpfer!)
swerien	swuor	swuoren	gisworan	swern	swuor	swuoren	{ geswarn gesworn	{ schwören schwur	{ geschworen geschworen

VII. For practical considerations we may here also add those verbs which originally had reduplication in the past. They do not strictly belong here, nor all together in one class, because some had no gradation at all, others belonged to various gradation series. Only in Gothic the verbs in question have reduplication, in the other Germanic languages it is practically not found; and they have here a sort of gradation, at least a change of vowel, though it is questionable whether this is due at all to differences of pitch and stress. Not very many verbs belong here. They have various vowels in the present stem, with which the perfect participle always agrees, but in Nhg. always *ie* in the past; only of *hängen* and *fangen* the past is now commonly written with simple *i*. Examples are:

haltan fallan	hialt fial	hialtum fialum	gihaltan gifallan	halte vallen	hielt viel	hielten vielen	gehalten gefallen	halten fallen	hielt fiel	gehalten gefallen
lāzan heizan	liaz hiaz	liazum hiazum	gilazan geheizan	{ lān lazen heizen	{ lie liez hieze	liezen hiezen	(ge)lāzen geheizen	lassen heissen	ließ hieß	gelassen geheissen

§ 256. **Gradation in the Preterite Presents.** The Preterite Presents are verbs whose real present is lost and whose original preterite has assumed present function with a new meaning. We have in English an analogue in the vulgarism *I got a dollar* = *I have a dollar*. A number of verbs falling in this category and appearing in Ohg. and Mhg. have either been lost entirely, or are now regular weak verbs. They are *toug*, *tugun* (*taugen*), *an*, *gan*, *gunnum* (*gönnen*), *tar*, *gitar*, *turrun* (English *dare*), and *eih*, *eigum* (adjective: *eigen*). Those still left can readily be assigned to the classes to which they originally belonged. The infinitive is regularly made from the stem of the plural. It is to be remembered that the stem vowels of the singular and plural of the existing present differ, because this present is an old strong preterite. Aside from this vowel difference also the identity of the forms for the first and third persons singular indicates that the Preterite presents were once, like the Greek *οἶδα*, Latin *nōvī*, unreduplicating perfects, which acquired a present meaning; cp. *ich kann*, *er kann*: *ich half*, *er half*. In the following the comparative forms will be given, grouped again according to the gradation series. Of most of these verbs neither infinitive nor perfect participle is found in Ohg. and Mhg. In the Nhg. block the couplets in the first column will readily be recognized as representing the singular and the plural of the present.

The verb *wollen* differs slightly from the others in that the forms which we have now for the present are really old present subjunctives. A new subjunctive and a new weak preterite have been added.

Ohg.	Mhg.	Nhg.
I. weiz wizzum $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wissa} \\ \text{wista} \\ \text{wessa} \\ \text{westa} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{giwizzan} \\ \text{wizzan} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wizzen} \\ \text{weiz} \end{array} \right\}$ wizzen $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{weste} \\ \text{wiste} \\ \text{wesse} \\ \text{wisse} \end{array} \right\}$ (gewizzen adj.) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gewest} \\ \text{gewist} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{weiß} \\ \text{wissen} \end{array} \right\}$ wußte gewußt (gewuß)
III. a. kan kunnum $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{konsta} \\ \text{kunda} \\ \text{konda} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dorfte} \\ \text{dorfta} \end{array} \right\}$ b. darf durfum	kan kunnen $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kunste} \\ \text{konde} \\ \text{kunde} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{darf} \\ \text{durfen} \end{array} \right\}$ (bedarf)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kann} \\ \text{können} \end{array} \right\}$ konnte $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dürfen} \\ \text{gedurft} \end{array} \right\}$
IV. scal sculum solta	darf durfen (schal schol) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sal} \\ \text{sol} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{süln} \\ \text{suln} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{solte} \\ \text{solde} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sollen} \\ \text{mögen} \end{array} \right\}$ sollte $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gemocht} \\ \text{gemußt} \end{array} \right\}$
V. mag $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mugum} \\ \text{mágum} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mohta} \\ \text{mahta} \end{array} \right\}$	mac $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mugen} \\ \text{magen} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mohte} \\ \text{mahte} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mag} \\ \text{müssen} \end{array} \right\}$ mochte
VI. muoz muozum muosa	muoz müezen $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{muoste} \\ \text{muose} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{muß} \\ \text{müssen} \end{array} \right\}$ mußte

§ 257. **Gradation in Nhg.** If we compare our modern principal parts with their older predecessors we notice that gradation has in a measure been obliterated. In particular, the preterite has the same vowel in the singular and the plural. Usually the vowel of the plural has prevailed. If we take into account what was said about the lengthening of vowels in the transition from Mhg. to Nhg. (§ 93) it will appear that the vowel of the plural is found in the preterite of the first series: *bleiben, blieb, geblieben; riten, reit, riten, geriten: reiten, ritt, geritten*. It is found also in the preterite of the second class, at least in the verbs of II (b): *biegen, bouc, bugen, gebogen*. In Middle German — Mhg. as represented in grammars is of Southern origin — the plural was *bögen* instead of *bugen*, and this form has prevailed, with lengthening. Possibly the regular preterite singular *bôt, sôt, zôch* may have helped to make prominent the plural form with *o* instead of that with *u*. The vowel of the plural is found also in the verbs of class IV, *stehlen, stahl: steln, stal, stâlen*. In class III in general the vowel of the preterite singular prevails: *binden, band: banden; helfen, half: halfen*. But in quite a number of verbs belonging here the vowel of the plural, or rather an *o* (not *u*) prevails. Possibly this may be due to influence of the second class, but before nasals *u* regularly > *o* passing from Mhg. to Nhg.: *sun: Sohn*, etc. Such verbs are, among others: *glimmen, klimmen, quellen, schallen, melken, schmelzen*. Similarly, a number of verbs from class IV have gone over to class II. They are *dreschen, löschen, fechten, flechten*; and even more from class V: *gähren, pflegen, weben, wägen, wiegen*; from class VI *heben* and *schwören*. In many of these

cases the perfect participle had *o* as its vowel, and it may have influenced the form of the preterite.

§ 258. **Mutation Old and New.** Cp. § 90. In the following forms we have characteristic Ohg. paradigms as they should be if the regular sound changes are not disturbed by analogy:

faru	gibu	biutu
feris	gibis(t)	biutis(t)
ferit	gibit	biutit
faramês	gebamês	bietamês
faret	gebet	bietet
farant	gebant	bietant

That is to say, in the singular of the present indicative of strong verbs we have the change from Idg. *e* > *i*, from *eu* > *iu*. Before *e*, *a* of the following syllable *u* > *o* and *iu* > *in* Ohg. and Mhg. the diphthong *ie* (*io*), Nhg. *ie* with the value of *î*. See § 92. In this respect also, Modern German has leveled, or obliterated the original differences, some of which still exist in the dialects. In literary German we may say that in general the first person singular has throughout the vowel of the plural: *ich gebe: wir geben* (the Preterite Presents excepted for obvious reasons). For the second and third person singular the old form with *i* has been generally maintained in verbs of the series IV and V and also in those of III, *b* which have *e* in the stem (i.e., those ending in a liquid + consonant): *gelten: giltst, gilt; nehme: nimmst, nimmt; gebe: gibst, gibt*.

In the second class (*biutu*) the *iu* should regularly develop to *eu*, the *io* or *ie* to *ie* (= *î*). The first singular early took the vowel of the plural in these verbs also. But in the second and third classes *eu* was often used till

the end of the eighteenth century: *beutst, beut, fleugst, fleugt, kreuchst, kreucht*. Such forms are still occasionally used in poetry, but regularly here also the *ie* of the plural now prevails.

The regular change of vowel commonly known as Umlaut or mutation ($a > \ddot{a}$, $o > \ddot{o}$, $u > \ddot{u}$, $au > \ddot{au}$), as seen in *faru: feris, ferit*, has generally been retained in all strong verbs coming into question in the second and third singular where they should be expected. Exceptions are *saugen, schaffen, hauen*, and a few others; *kommen* is still not settled; ordinarily we have *kommst, kommt*, but also *kömmst, kömmt*.

§ 259. **Mutation in the Preterite of Weak Verbs, and the Lack of it as Compared with the Present.** Ordinarily the stem of the preterite and that of the present are the same in the weak verb. But there are a few verbs still left which have an *e* (coming from an older *a*) in the present and an *a* in the past. They are *brennen, kennen, nennen, rennen, senden, wenden, and denken*. In *denken* (earlier *þankjan*) the *j* causing the change from $a > e$ was a present sign and so could not affect the past tense. In case of the other verbs, which are but a few from a large list in the older stages of the language, the *j* dropped in the preterite before it had affected the vowel of the stem.

§ 260. **Interchange of Consonants.** a. *g or k in the present changes to ch in the preterite.* It was a law operative in Germanic times that either *g* or *k* when coming immediately before a *t* changed to a sound now given by *ch*. Another law at the same time was that an *n* before the spirant *ch* should drop. Hence we have not only in Ger-

man, but, with some slight modifications, in all Germanic languages such couplets as *bringen: brachte, denken: dachte, mögen: mochte*, also *dünken: deuchte*. Compare with this the English *think: thought, bring: brought, may: might*. The same change of consonants can be observed in derivatives with a *t* in the suffix: *schlagen: Schlacht, tragen: Tracht, fliegen: Flucht; biegen: Bucht, taugen: tüchtig*, etc.

b. *Leveling differences due to Verner's Law*. See § 65. Leveling has taken place also in many verbs whose forms had grown apart owing to the working of Verner's Law. It can still be seen in the following verbs: *schneiden: geschnitten; leiden: gelitten; sieden: gesotten; gedeihen: participial adjective: gediegen; verbal noun Wesen: waren; kiesen: erkoren; fahen (fangen): gefangen*. *Lesen, genesen, zeihen, gedeihen* have in Nhg. time equalized in favor of the consonant found in the present and in the past singular; *frieren, verlieren, schlagen, hangen, fangen*, in favor of the consonant belonging to the past plural and the perfect participle.

PART TWO

SYNTAX

PART II

SYNTAX

CHAPTER I

THE SENTENCE AS A WHOLE

I. INTRODUCTORY DEFINITIONS

§ 261. **Language.** Language is the means of communicating thought and feelings, in the widest sense of the terms; from which it is not to be inferred that every means of communicating mental activity must be called language. The so-called language of mutes is language only in a modified sense. Writing also is but a very imperfect picture of language. But not even all sounds produced by our vocal organs can be called language. Language is *articulate speech consciously* employed to communicate our ideas to others.

§ 262. **Unit of Language.** Starting with this definition of language, we ask, what are we to consider a unit in language, and the answer can only be, whatever expresses a unit of thought. Ordinarily this is a sentence. If in the preceding part of our work we have dealt with sounds and their developments, with words and their phonetic changes, their inflections and formation, we may compare our work to that of the anatomist, who studies the parts in order that he may the better understand the whole. The sentence is the individual, the words are its members.

§ 263. **Sentence and Sentence Equivalent.** We said that ordinarily the unit of language is the sentence, that is, to use Delbrück's definition, "the linguistic expression of a total conception resolved into members." (*Der Satz ist der sprachliche Ausdruck einer gegliederten Gesamtvorstellung.*) But supposing that after a long separation you unexpectedly meet your mother and at the sight of her merely exclaim "mother!" — what sentence could mean more, or convey, what you mean to say, better? Or, again, when Pilate, leading Christ out to the Jews, with the crown of thorns, exclaims, according to Luther, *Welch ein Mensch!* we still have no sentence in the ordinary sense of the word, and yet a complete expression of a complete thought. To such expressions all imperatives and interjections are akin — though the latter less, because the element of consciousness and volition enters in a less degree — and for all of them some authors have claimed the name sentence. They all give expression to but one conception, the other being implied in the situation; while the ordinary sentence shows, in words, a relation between at least two. It is to no purpose to quarrel about a name. The two kinds of expression are alike in some essentials and different in others, and if *I* insist on their likeness, and call all sentences, some one else lays stress on their difference and calls expressions with at least two members sentences and those with one, sentence fragments, or sentence equivalents, which is probably a better term. We shall call expressions consisting of at least two members sentences, and those of one, but complete in themselves, sentence equivalents. In fact, our attention will be confined to the *Sentence*.

2. GRAMMATICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SUBJECT AND PREDICATE

§ 264. **The Chief Members of the Sentence: Subject and Predicate.** Every sentence is constituted of a subject, or that of which something is asserted, and a predicate, or that which is asserted. Either can be a simple concept, *Die Sonne: scheint*; or a group of concepts, *Neue Besen: kehren gut*. Or, in common parlance, the subject can be a simple subject, or a modified subject, and similarly the predicate.

§ 265. **Psychological Subject and Predicate.** Following in the trail of the logician who makes every sentence conform to a certain scheme suitable to his purposes, we have accustomed ourselves, in grammar, to regard as the subject of the sentence always a noun or the equivalent of a noun in the nominative case; and formally this is quite correct. And yet it is necessary for us to recognize that, in so doing, we very often act quite contrary to our definition of subject and predicate. Suppose a rich man with a large mansion is obliged to leave for some other place and his friends are concerned about the future of the house. Discussing the subject in German, they may say: *Was soll nun aus dem Haus werden?* and I answer: *Das Haus, das kaufe ich*. Grammatically, *das Haus* is in the accusative case, and we call it the object, or a part of the predicate. But from the question which called forth my answer it is plain that an assertion is not to be made about *ich*, the formal subject, but about the *Haus*. Psychologically, or logically, if you prefer, the subject of the sentence: *Das Haus kaufe ich*, in the connection given, is *Das Haus*, and the predicate is *kaufe*

ich. To define: the psychological subject is the part of a sentence already, or first in the mind of the speaker and listener; the psychological predicate is the conception shown to be in relation to it. Taking the isolated sentence "The earth is round," *the earth* is both grammatical and psychological subject, and *round* both grammatical and psychological predicate. But suppose we have been speaking with an untutored person about the sun and other heavenly bodies. We have surprised him by telling him of their spherical nature and finally shock his belief by stating: "and the earth on which you daily walk is round, too." Now *earth* becomes the psychological predicate, and *round* the psychological subject. Roundness, or the conception conveyed by the word *round*, was in the mind of the speaker and the listener, having been ascribed to the sun and other heavenly bodies, and the new conception shown to be in relation to this roundness was the earth. The question answered in the sentence was not: what shape has the earth? but, what, besides the sun, etc., has roundness? and the answer is the psychological predicate: *the earth*.

But it must not be implied, that in cases where the grammatical and the psychological subject and predicate do not coincide, they necessarily always exchange places. In the sentence: *Das Haus kaufe ich*, you might say *Haus-kaufen* is psychological subject, *ich* psychological predicate.

The purpose of bringing in the discussion of this matter at all is to hint at the reason why, in speaking and writing, we so rarely use the form of the sentence ordinarily considered as typical: God, subject, is almighty, predi-

cate. The psychological predicate always needs the main emphasis, and any order helpful in this direction will appeal to a good writer. The more a clear conception and enunciation of psychological subject and predicate is obliterated by thoughtless, lifeless habits imposed upon us by the formality of grammar, the less clear our expressions will be.

3. FORM OF THE SENTENCE

a. Factors of a More General Nature Helping to make the Sentence

§ 266. **Sequence of Words Affecting their Value in the Sentence.** Being accustomed to take as the basis of our grammatical studies the written rather than the spoken word, we easily overlook a number of factors which help to give form to the linguistic expression of our mental operations, and which are probably much more subtle in their adaptability to the various shades and phases of our complex mental activity than the words which we ordinarily consider the equivalents of our thoughts and emotions. Some of these elements are quite plainly recognized in written language; others are too subtle to allow any representation on paper. They are none the less important.

We shall have to treat of the word order in a German sentence more minutely in another paragraph. In general it must be said that this factor is of particular importance in languages whose inflectional system is not well developed. In Latin, e.g., it matters little whether I say *patrem filius amat*, or *amat patrem filius*, or *filius*

amat patrem. But in English the expression, "The father loves the child" is quite a different thing from "The child loves the father"; or the German, "*Die Mutter liebt das Kind*" or "*Das Kind liebt die Mutter.*" Where the relation is clear from the inflection, the position matters less: "Him hath God raised up from the dead," or "*Den Vater liebt der Knabe.*"

§ 267. **Gradation of Stress.** Any combination of words can be properly interpreted only in its peculiar surroundings, which determine the content and modify the utterance, in every respect, but more noticeably in the variation of stress. Let us, for example, take the combination *Truth seems stranger than fiction.* Vary the stress from word to word, and at least four distinct thoughts can be conveyed in the same words. "*Truth* seems stranger than fiction," — implying, possibly, that a given case of fiction need not be considered too strange. Or: "*Truth seems* stranger than fiction" — but it is not. "*Truth seems stranger* than fiction," in which case the implication is, possibly, that the ordinary relation of things has been reversed. What emphasis is to be chosen depends altogether on the environment in which a word group is found, or, which is the same, on the idea to be conveyed. In writing we have no adequate means of indicating stress, and probably on this account this factor has not received nearly so much attention from grammarians as its importance deserves.

§ 268. **Variation of Pitch.** Closely related to the variation of stress is that of pitch. The two together constitute what we ordinarily know as the modulation of the voice. The scale of qualities, the delicate shades of

meaning that can thus be imparted to our words, are almost limitless. Joy and sorrow, hope and despair, pleasure and anguish, kindness and malice, calm and anger in every degree find thus their most adequate expression. *John is not coming* is turned into a question by a slightly rising inflection at the end, or into a harsh command by another variation.

§ 269. **Tempo.** Hardly less subtle, and hardly less expressive than pitch and stress, is the element of time in the musical sense, or of tempo. It serves rather to express accompanying moods and emotions than thought in the ordinary sense of the word. But moods and emotions, too, constitute a content of language, often almost the only content, and have a right to our attention. Calm deliberation and sadness find expression in slow, measured time, accompanied often by low pitch; excitement, anger, joy, are characterized by a quick movement, and are often accompanied by a high pitch; but there is considerable variation in this regard. Notice in this connection the beginning of *Maria Stuart* and that of *Iphigenie*.

KENNEDY: Was sucht Ihr, Sir? Welch' neue Dreistigkeit?
Zurück von diesem Schrank!

PAULET: Wo kam der Schmuck her?
Vom obern Stock ward er herabgeworfen,
Der Gärtner hat bestochen werden sollen
Mit diesem Schmuck. Fluch über Weiberlist!
Trotz meiner Aufsicht, meinem scharfen Suchen
Noch Kostbarkeiten, noch geheime Schätze.

And *Iphigenie*:

Heraus in eure Schatten, rege Wipfel
Des alten, heiligen, dichtbelaubten Haines,

Wie in der Göttin stilles Heiligtum,
Tret' ich noch jetzt mit schauerndem Gefühl,
Als wenn ich sie zum ersten mal beträte,
Und es gewöhnt sich nicht mein Geist hierher.

b. *Word Order*

§ 270. **No Hard and Fast Rules Possible for Every Detail.** While in some respects word order in all languages follows pretty firmly established rules, there is a certain amount of freedom withal, which does not submit to rules. Moreover, speakers and writers of German, as of any other language, are in the arrangement of their words not always guided by the same principle. In trying to reduce existing usage in German, and, for that matter, probably in every other language, to some rule and reason, we find at least three factors exerting their influence upon the order of words.

a. *Custom.* First of all, here as in all linguistic matters custom plays a great part, and custom is not governed by rational principles. An arrangement which may originally have been made for definite purposes, is often thoughtlessly imitated until it becomes customary and void of purpose. It is maintained, for example, that in certain periods of the English language preferably the grammatical subject opened the sentence. No logical considerations could ever have established such usage. Similarly no reason, no logical reason, can be found for the position of the finite verb either in English or in German. Attempts to draw from differences of this sort inferences as to the mental habits of different speakers are wholly futile.

b. *Psychological Considerations* do, however, play a

part in the arrangement of words in a sentence. In calm, unimpassioned speech frequently, if not commonly, the psychological subject opens the sentence; under excitement the speaker is more apt to begin with the psychological predicate, the element claiming his greatest attention. This is true not only in German, but also in other languages; it must be expressive of common psychological habits.

c. *Rhythmical Considerations.* Similarly not only in German but in all languages, rhythmical considerations exert their influence upon word order, and, incidentally, also upon the choice of words.

These elements are sometimes at variance with each other, and the decision as to which one prevails in a given case rests with the sense of linguistic propriety on the part of the speaker.

1. *Position of the Finite Verb*

§ 271. Reason for Singling out the Finite Verb. It has been an apparent tendency from the earliest time in the history of the Germanic languages, for the finite verb (i.e., the part of the verb taking the conjugational endings) to be pretty firmly fixed in some favorite position. And particularly one thing seems to be established by a number of recent investigations,¹ namely, that what

¹ I mention the more prominent ones. The titles indicate their scope. Wilh. Braune, "Zur Lehre von der deutschen Wortstellung," Festgabe für Rudolf Hildebrand, Leipzig, 1894. McKnight, "Primitive Teutonic Order of Words," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1897. John Ries, "Die Wortstellung im Beowulf," 1907, and in 1880, "Die Stellung von Subjekt und Prädikatsverbum im Heliand" (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*); Eduard Sievers, "Zur Tech-

from of old had been a tendency, has in the course of the development of German become more and more an established fact, until in the modern German sentence the finite verb is the only member at all rigidly insisting upon some given position.

§ 272. **So-called Normal and Inverted Order.** So much has been recognized for so many years, that it is hard to justify the practice of German grammars in basing their rules for word order now on the position of the subject, when they speak of Normal and Inverted Order; now on the position of the finite verb, when they define the Dependent, or so-called Transposed Order. There is no valid reason in modern German for making any distinction between the so-called Normal and Inverted Orders; unless, indeed, we agree to be consistent enough to distinguish half a dozen or more similar orders: one, e.g., with the direct object in initial position, another, with some adverb, still another with an uninflected part of the verb opening the sentence. These and more distinctions might be made, but to no purpose. In every case, the finite verb holds the second place.¹

nik der Wortstellung in den Eddaliedern," Verh. der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1910. B. Delbrück, "Zur Stellung des Verbums; Beiträge zur germanischen Syntax," Verhandlungen der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1911.

¹ John Ries, in his studies on *Beowulf*, tries to justify the distinction historically. But whatever tendency there may be in *Beowulf* for the subject to seek the initial position with more determination than the other members of the sentence, we are reasonably safe in saying that a similar tendency does not exist in modern German to any marked degree. Nor am I very sure, from some reading of old English prose, whether it would be fair to make the claim for Old English generally. In modern German writers there seems to exist considerable difference in this respect; and

§ 273. **'Finite Verb in the Second Place.** The finite verb holds the second place in the ordinary main declarative sentence, both the one with the so-called normal, and the one with the so-called inverted order. In many sentences the second place is at the same time the last place: *er kommt*; *mich dürstet*. The first place may be held either by the subject, of whatever form or length, or by some other unified, more or less independent element, commonly regarded as a part of the predicate, this also of any form or length. Also the particle *es*, and other particles more or less void of content, as *da*, *nun*, may hold the first place, and a large number of old adverbs, having now more or less clearly conjunctival force, such as, *auch*, *zudem*, *außerdem*, *daneben*, *dazu*; *dann*, *hierauf*, *darauf*, *endlich*, *bald . . . bald*, *weder . . . noch*, (*entweder*), *doch*, *dennoch*, *dagegen*, *daher*, *mithin*, *indessen*, *trotzdem*, *nur*, *so*, (*also*), *darum*, *deshalb*, *hingegen*, (*jedoch*), *sonst*, *zwar*, *freilich*, *allerdings*, and others. In the earlier stages of the language, and even down to Goethe, the conjunction *und* was frequently followed immediately by the verb: *Und gingen die beiden mit einander*. Of late years this usage has again acquired a good deal of favor, particularly in newspapers. Grammarians generally do not seem to look on it with approval.

The following sentences, taken at random from Hampe, "*Deutsche Kaisergeschichte*," will show various types of sentences with the finite verb in the second place. Simple,

more, probably, than upon individual habit, depends upon difference in types of literature. It would remain to be investigated whether there are any similar differences in various types of O.E. monuments, and in various O.E. authors.

unmodified subject first: *Philipp konnte daher in diesem Punkte leicht Verzicht leisten.* Modified subject first: *Die allgemeine Erschütterung der Treue entzog auch ihm jeden festen Halt.* A subject clause first: *Der so weittragende Versprechungen machte, ward als Herrscher des geeinten Reiches nicht mehr durch die Not dazu getrieben.* Object first: *Friedenssicherheit und Machtbewußtsein atmeten die glanzvollen Hoftage der nächsten Jahre.* Adverbial clause first: *Erst als unter Friedrich II. die politische Vormachtstellung Deutschlands allmählich sank, setzte auch im deutschen Ritterstande eine kulturelle Erschlaffung ein.* But it is not necessary to multiply examples. All the varieties with which we are familiar, as the old Normal and Inverted declarative sentences, belong here, including partial questions, such as: *Wohin gehst du?* etc., and imperative sentences opened with some part of the predicate: *Den Vater rufe! Nun komm her!*

§ 274. **The Finite Verb stands First.** This is the case:

1. In the normal interrogative sentence to be answered by yes or no, and in alternative questions: Are you going or not. I add the word "normal" in view of questions such as this: John is coming home? The interrogative element is, accordingly, to be seen not so much in the verb position as in the peculiar inflection.

2. In optative sentences the present subjunctive stands either first or second; the preterite and pluperfect regularly first.

3. In the earlier stages of German the finite verb was found in the initial position quite frequently in common declarative sentences. In the course of time sentences of this kind acquired a more or less strongly pro-

nounced emotional, exclamatory element: *Hab' ich doch niemals den Markt und die Straßen so einsam gesehen. Sah ein Knab ein Röslein stehn. Kommt ein Vogel geflogen. Schnackt mir der Kerl das Zeug an.* The stage in which this emotional element was not yet present has its continuation in certain parenthetical clauses, such as: *Die Liebe, sagt Paulus, ist die größte unter ihnen.* It does not seem well to explain this position of the verb as second, regarding "*Die Liebe*" as a part of the object of *sagte*; the marked change in pitch in pronouncing the sentence designates "*sagt Paulus*" too plainly as parenthetical, as outside of the construction of the sentence. On the other hand, it is inadmissible to see the initial position of the verb in sentences such as this: *Was Hänschen nicht lernt, lernt Hans nimmermehr.* The first clause is too plainly felt as parallel to an ordinary object, to admit of such interpretation.

4. Since the appearance of Braune's article, mentioned before, it has been customary to speak of a "disguised initial position of the verb," particularly after the pronoun *es* which might here almost be called a particle. It was mentioned in the preceding section as capable of filling the first, and giving the verb the second place. Historically, also, it is better to class sentences of this type with those having the verb second. In speaking of them as having the verb in disguised initial position it is implied that the particle is put at the beginning expressly for the purpose of getting the verb in the second place. But it is not easy to see how, without any other inducement, people should have come to put a wholly meaningless word at the beginning of a sentence, particu-

larly when sentences opening with the verb were much more common than they are now, and had apparently no special attendant emotional significance. The particle *es* must have crept in from clauses in which it had its meaning, just as our English "there" in similar clauses was undoubtedly a local adverb to start with. The following example may serve as a mere suggestion as to the manner in which the particle *es* might have been derived from the former pronoun (cp. § 462, c). *Ich will euch eine tragische Geschichte erzählen. Es war ein alter König, dem sie passierte; der nahm eine junge Frau.* But in connection with the introductory sentence we might also omit "*dem sie passierte*," and our particle has its inception and is ready to make conquest.

§ 275. **The Finite Verb stands Last** — regularly in dependent clauses of the ordinary type; — 'of the ordinary type,' because there are a few types logically subordinate but retaining the form of the particular kind of main clause from which they were developed. They are:

1. Indirect discourse clauses differing from direct discourse in the change of mode, or person, or tense only, but not admitting the conjunction *daß*; sometimes they do not differ from direct discourse at all, except in the matter of vocal inflection: *Ich glaube, er wird morgen kommen; er glaubt, er werde morgen kommen.*

2. Conditional clauses developed from older interrogative sentences answerable by yes or no, and in their word order at least keeping the older interrogative form. When pronounced they are plainly felt as dependent, conditional clauses: *Führen Narren das Wort, schweiget der Weisere still.* In English we do not have any con-

struction quite similar; yet often a pair of sentences of which the first is an interrogative, comes close to it. Compare for example, Romans XIII, 3: "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same." Is there any significance in the fact that the *do* in the second clause is printed with a small *d*? The corresponding German translation reads: *Willst du dich aber nicht fürchten vor der Obrigkeit, so tue Gutes; so wirst du Lob von derselbigen haben.*

3. Similarly other main clauses become logically subordinate by close combination, and are usually recognized as such when pronounced, though in writing they do not always appear to be such. In the passage just quoted from Romans the imperatives, "do that which is good" and the German "*tue Gutes*," are plainly conditional clauses for what follows.

4. While these subordinate clauses in their word order still bear the marks of their earlier functions, and might be said not to have become quite subordinate as to form, the finite verb even in strictly dependent clauses is sometimes deprived of the end position. This is the case in the following instances.

a. When, in a subordinate clause, the finite verb is an auxiliary of mode or tense, and two infinitives, or an infinitive and a participle depend on it, the finite verb immediately precedes them, the end position being reserved for these uninflected parts of the verb: *Wenn er hätte sehen wollen. Sobald er wird einsehen lernen*; even by analogy: *Sobald er wird zu Sinnen kommen*, against: *Sobald er zu Verstand kommen wird*, *zu Sinnen* reminding of an infinitive. Only the finite forms of *sein* ordinarily

retain also in such sentences their final position: *Nachdem er mit dem Freunde in der Stadt gesehen worden war*. Also, if one of the two uninflected forms is *sein*, the finite verb may retain its final place: *Ihm wurde deutlich, daß er fortan von Seinesgleichen streng werde gemieden werden*; but: *Ihm wurde deutlich, daß er fortan von Seinesgleichen streng gemieden sein werde*.

b. Sometimes the finite verb is followed also by adverbial elements which are rather in the nature of an afterthought, or have a considerable degree of independence of their own. To written language this gives an easy, conversational tone: *Als er dann wieder zu mir kam mit seinen Klagen*. Particularly in dramatic literature examples can be easily found.

c. Similarly the verb yields its final position in dependent clauses, if some member of them is itself modified by a clause, so that the relative comes closer to its antecedent, or the conjunction closer to the word with which it connects its clause: *Besonders gern erzählt er kleine Geschichten aus seiner militärischen Vergangenheit, die merkwürdig reizvoll sind dadurch, daß sie niemals eine Pointe haben*.

5. On the other hand, a number of optative and exclamatory clauses, introduced by relative or interrogative pronouns, or subordinate conjunctions, have the verb last, though the clause ought to be logically classed with main clauses: *Wer mit euch segelte, mit euch schiffte! Wenn, or daß es doch endlich besser würde!*

2. Position of the other Members of the Sentence

§ 276. The Elements Opening the Sentence. In a declarative sentence the subject, or any one unified predi-

cate element may hold first place. But it is impossible to state when the one, when the other is to be chosen for the initial position. As a general rule it is safe to say that in unimpassioned speech the psychological subject, the concept with which the minds of both the speaker and the listener, the writer and the reader, are already occupied, opens the sentence, no matter whether this happens to be also the grammatical subject or some member of the predicate. But both in speaking, and particularly in the more formal writing, we often, if not usually, omit to give expression to inferences which the listener or reader readily makes for himself; and so, often the initial member of a sentence does not so readily conform to our definition of the psychological subject. It may have the appearance of an element, a concept, not yet known, while, as a matter of fact, the writer tacitly assumes that the idea it conveys has by inference suggested itself to the mind of the reader as well as his own, and it can therefore in all fairness be called the psychological subject.

As soon as emotional elements attain any prominence, the psychological predicate, the idea impetuously calling for utterance, is apt to appear first.

§ 277. **The Parts Following the Finite Verb.** It seems possible to formulate one broad principle which is followed rather closely in the arrangement of the members following the finite verb in a main declarative clause; and other clauses, interrogative, dependent, etc., have the same arrangement except that the finite verb takes, in each, its appropriate place. This principle may be stated thus: The parts following the finite verb are arranged according to the closeness with which they

enter into group relation with the verb. Those being most intimately connected with the verb, most essential in giving it the meaning intended, are put last, or as near to the end as possible. Those next important for this purpose, not necessarily for the meaning of the entire sentence, come next to the last, and so forth; they move forward toward the beginning of the sentence as their relation to the verbal idea grows less close. In modern English the reverse order is observed generally: the element most essential for the completion of the verbal idea, as a rule immediately follows the verb; yet it would not always do, merely to reverse the English order in the expectation of producing an idiomatic German sentence.

1. Where the verbal idea is expressed by means of an auxiliary, either of tense or of mode, and an uninflected form of the verb, this uninflected form stands last, in a main clause; in a dependent clause immediately before the finite verb: *Der Präsident wird am 4. März in sein Amt eingeführt. Es ist Sitte, daß der Präsident am 4. März in sein Amt eingeführt werde.*

2. Next in importance to the uninflected verbal forms are adverbs so essential for the meaning of the verb that they have, in a sense, grown together with it, and are called separable prefixes. With simple forms of the verb these separable prefixes stand last in a main clause, or immediately before the finite verb in a subordinate clause; with compound tense forms they immediately precede the uninflected verbal forms and are written together with them: *Der Präsident wird eingeführt. Man führt den Präsidenten ein.* Quite like these adverb-prefixes are others which are really nouns in the accusative case, such as *statt-*

finden, teilnehmen, folgeleisten: Ich nehme an Ihrem Schmerz teil; ich leiste Ihrer Einladung folge. Heute abend findet eine Versammlung statt.

3. There is plainly not much difference between such forms as *folgeleisten*, or *Folge leisten* as it is also still written, and many other verbs with their accusative objects, say, *Einkäufe machen, einen Vergleich anbahnen*, etc., and others with genitive objects, as *des Amtes walten, der Rechte beflissen sein*, etc. And so the accusative object, and also the genitive object, often yields the end position only to the members mentioned in the two preceding sections.

It is apparent that a noun like *Einkäufe*, in *Einkäufe machen*, is not the object of *machen* in the same sense in which *Tisch* is the object in, *Der Schreiner macht mir einen neuen Tisch*; or *den Mann* in, *Das Geschenk versetzte den Mann in große Begeisterung*. In *Einkäufe machen* verb and noun together form a closer unit; the verb approaches in its function an auxiliary, and may represent one of the stages through which all of our common auxiliaries must have passed in their development from verbs with full meaning to their present function.

4. And quite like these 'objects,' in this respect, are certain prepositional phrases absolutely necessary for the completion of the verbal idea: *in Begeisterung, in Furcht versetzen; in Liebe gedenken*; indeed where a common accusative object, and such or similar phrases occur, these phrases follow: *Das Geschenk versetzte den Mann in große Begeisterung*.

5. It is commonly stated that adverbs of time precede adverbs of place, and both usually precede adverbs of

manner, means or instrument. This is quite in accord with the general principle. For very rarely do adverbs of time really affect the character of the action expressed in the verb. Usually, when one does, it seeks the end position as well as other adverbs under similar circumstances: *Ein ehrlicher Mensch scheut nicht das Licht des Tages; ein Dieb treibt sein Gewerbe auf Straßen und Gassen im Dunkel der Nacht.* Yet we need not be surprised if under the influence of the customary position an adverb of time were found earlier in the sentence even when by good right it might claim a place nearer the end.

Adverbs of place, and particularly adverbs of manner, means or instrument, are much more likely to give coloring to the action expressed in the verb, and are proportionately more often found nearer the end of the sentence: *Ich habe gestern nach langem Suchen den Mann im Schmutz gefunden. Er hat ihn im Walde in kaltem Blut erschlagen.* But: *Er hat den Heiligen des Herrn mit ruchloser Hand am Altar erschlagen,* or: *Er hat am Altar mit ruchloser Hand den Heiligen des Herrn erschlagen.*

6. If a part of the predicate precedes the finite verb, usually the subject stands next after the verb, but not always: *Am Morgen ist der Mensch zur Arbeit geneigt.* Except for a few light adverbs as *nun, damals, also,* — all of them rather of the nature of connectives, — it is usually some emphatic element that intervenes between the verb and the subject. *Nach langem Leiden hat endlich die arme Seele Ruhe gefunden. Aber in diesem Augenblicke stürzte mit gellendem Schrei die Mutter aus der Thür und warf sich dazwischen.* But also members with but

little stress can intervene: *Dort eröffnete sich ihnen ein Ausweg aus der Not.* It may well be that the cadence of the sentence has something to do with this arrangement. From *endlich* the pitch seems to descend continuously to the end. If we should rearrange the sentence: *Nach langem Leiden hat die arme Seele endlich Ruhe gefunden,* the pitch would correspond to a broken line, ascending and descending, with *endlich* on the crest. In general, that does not seem to be pleasing to the German ear.

7. In general, pronouns stand earlier in the sentence than the nouns which they represent. *Er hat es dem Vater gesagt. Er hat ihm kein gutes Wort gesagt.* Usually the indirect object precedes the accusative object. But when both are represented by personal pronouns usage is divided as to which one stands first: *er sagte mir's; er sagte es mir.*

8. *Exceptions for Reasons of Clearness and Rhythm.* In German as in English regard for pleasing rhythm and the general euphony of the sentence plays no small part in the arrangement of the words, in so far as more important considerations do not interfere.

And just as in dependent clauses the finite verb is sometimes followed by clauses or phrases modifying parts of the subordinate clause, so also the uninflected part of the verb in a main clause is frequently followed by lengthy modifiers of the predicate or of the subject: *Auf dem Hofe hatte sich eine Anzahl fremder Menschen eingefunden, welche die Mutter lieb gehabt hatten (Frau Sorge). Der ganze Raum war gebadet in Sonnenglanz (Frau Sorge). Ich bin fast vergangen vor Sehnsucht.* In the last two sentences the participles could also stand at the end.

But the change in word order would involve also a slight change in relative emphasis. It is hard to bring out this difference in English because it all depends on the proper modulation. But compare, for want of a better means, the two following sentences: "He was overcome with the heat"; and, as an answer to the question: "Was he pleased with the result?": "He was fairly overcome with joy"; retarded tempo, rather high pitch and stress on overcome, as on *gebadet*, *vergangen*, when standing before the prepositional phrases.

But purely rhythmic considerations forbid incorporating long phrases in a sentence in such a way that they would be followed by a separable prefix or some other comparatively meaningless and unstressed word or phrase: "*Der Landmann nahm seine Mütze tief ab vor dem Landesherrn oder den gelehrten Juristen.*" But: *Der Landmann bezeugte dem Landesherrn oder den gelehrten Juristen nicht geringe Ehrfurcht.*

§ 278. **Position of Predicate Adjective or Predicate Noun.** In the preceding sections it has been implicitly assumed that the predicate consists of a verb with some content, not merely an auxiliary or similar word void of independent meaning. In sentences whose predicate consists of an adjective or a noun, the finite verb is treated as to position just as stated in the foregoing sections, and the real predicate normally stands at the end or as near the end as possible, unless it stands first. In other words, it is treated just like the uninflected parts of the verb: *Der Mensch bleibt doch immer noch, trotz allen Schwächen und Fehlern, ein Mensch.* But for the same reasons for which the uninflected verbal forms sometimes

yield their end position, the predicate adjective or noun may do so.

§ 279. **Possible Development of the Present Status.** All the recent investigations in the field of Germanic word order seem to point to one fact with remarkable unanimity: the farther we go back in the various Germanic languages, the less firmly established we find the present difference in the word order of the various kinds of sentences; in particular in the position of the finite verb in main and dependent clauses. For, generally speaking, the farther we go back, the more often we meet with the finite verb, even in main clauses, at the end of the sentence; and it seems fair to draw the inference, as John Ries does, that in the earliest Germanic times, before the later separation of the dialects took place, the predominating position of the finite verb was at the end of the sentence, in both main and dependent clauses. And for that time we should hardly need to add the qualifying adjective "finite"; because our early forefathers knew but two tense forms, the present and the simple past. If participles were used at all, they were used as adjectives; and if infinitives were used with modal auxiliaries and other verbs approaching the modal auxiliaries in their function, it is doubtful at least, just how clearly a strictly verbal function was associated with the combination as such, doubtful, that is to say, whether such a combination as "I can see" meant more nearly "I am endowed with, am capable of sight," or our "I can see." Cp.: *Ich kann lesen: ich kann Deutsch.*

It appears from recent investigations, particularly from the treatise of John Ries, mentioned before, that it

was first and foremost the copula, *to be*, then the modals, which moved from the end forward. Whether this was altogether due to rhythmic considerations, as Ries seems to assume, appears somewhat doubtful. We do not find that rhythm plays a part sufficiently great for any such radical change in modern language, barring poetry. And other reasons can be discerned that brought about, or at least helped to bring about, the shift of the copula and related forms. Notice the following two sets of sentences; formally they are representative of two types, one with the verb in the medial, the other with it in the final position. 'Man is mortal,' — 'Gold is a metal,' as the one type; 'Man dies,' — 'Gold melts,' as the other type. But what these two types have in common, in spite of the shifting of the verb from the end forward, is probably to the linguistic consciousness of greater importance than merely rhythmic considerations. It is the fact that both in "man is mortal," and in "man dies" the predicate, the assertion stands last. The same usually holds also for sentences with a modal or tense auxiliary and an uninflected verb form. First as last, the predicate seeks the end.

Naturally the question is suggested, why also the ordinary verb, i.e., the ordinary predicate, lost its end position. No positive answer is possible. But in his speech formation, man is guided now by one, now by another principle. It would not be unreasonable to say, he put *all* verbs second, because many were, and, as the compound tenses developed, more and more came to be second.

Moreover, it is not impossible that the old principle of having the predicate last might still have had some-

thing to do with this change. When a verb holds the second, in distinction from the last place in a sentence, there must always be at least three, not only two members in the sentence. That means that the sentence must contain some adjunct of the predicate; for the subject counts as one. But often this so-called adjunct of the predicate is really part and parcel of the predicate, not to say the real predicate. Recall sentences like *Ich mache meine Einkäufe*, or *Die Nachricht findet Bestätigung*. It was suggested that the verbs in such sentences come close to being auxiliaries. Take another sentence: *Der Mensch sieht mir ewig in den Topf*, we call him a *Topfgucker*; an essential part of the predicate is last. Or compare: *Der Mensch sitzt beständig mit dem Buch in der Stube*: he is a *Stubenhocker*; but: *Die reinste Naturfreude hat für ihn keinen Reiz*. *Er sitzt ewig in der Stube mit dem Buch*; he is a *Bücherwurm*. Incidentally it may be noticed that it is impossible to determine with any certainty the arrangement of the various members in an isolated sentence. The content of one sentence often determines what is the real predicate of the next; and not only what is the psychological predicate; often the grammatical predicate as well.

4. SENTENCES VARYING ACCORDING TO THEIR CONTENT

§ 280. Considering the content of the sentence we can distinguish roughly four kinds, though there is no good reason why this number should not be considerably increased.

1. *Declarative Sentence* we call a sentence in which an observation or a statement of fact is made. All de-

degrees of emotion can be expressed in a declarative sentence, by which its modulation in every way is changed. Where the emotional element predominates the sentence verges into

2. *The Exclamatory Sentence.* As to its form on paper, but there only, the exclamatory sentence is often like the interrogative sentence, from which many really developed, being originally indirect questions with the omission of the main clause, on which they depended.

3. *Imperative and Optative Sentences* are sentences in which the volitional element predominates, in which a wish is uttered with more or less intensity and authority. It is impossible to draw sharp lines between them. In such sentences either the imperative mood or the subjunctive in the present, the preterite, or pluperfect is used, often also the Indicative. The word order differs; in real imperatives, confined to the second person singular and plural, the verb stands first; in optative or hortatory clauses it stands second, or first. Some of these clauses, too, have been developed from subordinate clauses of some kind in which the finite verb stands last; or from interrogative clauses, the verb standing first.

4. *Interrogative.* In an interrogative sentence no statement is made, but the person to whom it is addressed is requested to make a statement with regard to some subject indicated in the question. Interrogative clauses can be subdivided into two general classes, such as can be answered by yes or no, or those in which the whole content is in question, and such as ask information only with regard to a part of the content. *Ist jemand gekommen? Ja — Nein. Wer ist gekommen? — Hans.* Sometimes sentences

which, according to their form on paper at least, must be classed as interrogative sentences, are optative, or declarative as to their content: *Willst du wohl mit mir gehen?* — *Sollte man dabei nicht ruhig sein?* On the contrary, sometimes sentences having the form of declarative sentences on paper, are interrogative in meaning: *Hans ist gekommen?* Only the inflection, rising at the end, indicates their interrogative nature. But not every interrogative sentence has rising inflection: *Was hab' ich denn davon?* Besides, usage differs in this respect in different parts of Germany.

5. SENTENCES VARYING ACCORDING TO THEIR RELATION TO OTHER SENTENCES

§ 281. **Simple Sentence.** In but rare instances we speak in isolated sentences. Ordinarily a number of sentences are as to their content more or less closely related to each other, though we mark them outwardly as independent by periods or some other mark commonly regarded as final. In strict logic, therefore, no sharp line can be drawn between what we in grammar know as a simple sentence and a compound sentence. *Reden ist Silber, Schweigen ist Gold*, is, as it stands, two independent, unconnected sentences, but the addition of the conjunction *aber* does not make their relation any closer: it only formally indicates their relation. However, in Grammar we disregard relations which find no expression on paper, and call sentences which have but one subject and one predicate simple sentences. Strictly speaking, the relation between such sentences is very clearly expressed by the peculiar pitch and stress in the

two parts. In a simple sentence both subject and predicate can consist of a number of parts.

§ 282. **Complex of Co-ordinate Members, or Compound Sentence.** Sentences, in which the relation between a number of formally independent clauses is either very obvious, so that in writing they are separated by commas or semicolons, as well as those in which this relation finds expression by means of special conjunctions, we call compound sentences. A large variety of logical relations may exist between the various members of a compound sentence. Sometimes this relation is indicated by means of particular conjunctions and connecting particles: *denn, ja, doch, darum, deshalb, aber, freilich, allerdings; und, auch, nicht nur . . . sondern auch; weder . . . noch; ferner, zudem, sodann*, and many others; sometimes the relation must be wholly inferred. The more common relations may be classed as:

- (1) That of time: *Gestern war ein Gewitter; da hat es eingeschlagen.*
- (2) Of place: *Bleibè auf dieser Bank; da will ich dich treffen.*
- (3) Of manner or mode in various ways, the more common being:
 - (a) Comparison: *Der Tod ist der Sünde Sold; der Lohn der Gottseligkeit ist das Leben.*
 - (b) Means: *Dort liegt ein Kahn; damit könnte ich die Heimat erreichen.*
 - (c) Condition: *Reiche der Sünde einen Finger, bald hat sie die ganze Hand.*
 - (d) Cause: *Gieb mir die Hand, mir ist schwach. Führe mich, denn ich bin blind.*

- (e) Result: *Ehre Vater und Mutter, und du sollst lange Leben auf Erden.*
- (f) Contrast: *Rächet euch selber nicht, sondern gebet Raum dem Zorn.*

§ 283. **Sentence Consisting of Main and Subordinate Clauses.** Complex Sentences. Subordinate clauses really stand in relation to the main clause on which they depend as a part of them. They can have the function of substantive, adjective, or adverb. If we were to classify them according to their outward form, or the way in which they are connected with the main clause, we should have to distinguish them as conjunctival clauses, or such as are introduced by a subordinating conjunction, and relative clauses or such as are introduced by either a relative pronoun, a relative adjective, or a relative adverb, and finally such as have strictly speaking no connecting word at all, to which belong also indirect interrogative clauses that can not be answered by yes or no. But it is more common to classify them according to their content, according to the function they have in the sentence. And from this point of view we have:

1. Subject Clauses. *Wer Pech angreift, besudelt sich. Was von Herzen kommt, geht zu Herzen. Es ist doch gut, wenn sich die Kritik dann und wann zu ihnen herabläßt. Es ist besser, du gehst.*

From these few examples it is apparent that the Subject Clause may have various forms. It may be, as to form, a main clause: *Demselbigen Menschen wäre besser, er wäre nie geboren.* It is often a clause with a so-called double relative: *Wer Sünde tut, (der) ist der Sünde Knecht;* or with an interrogative pronoun or conjunction: *Was geht*

es mich an, ob er kommt? and particularly clauses with *daß*.

2. Predicate Clauses. They may, again, be without any connective word, but commonly they are introduced by *daß*, or a relative adverb, or relative or interrogative pronoun: *So kommt das Mädchen wieder unter Christen; wird wieder, was sie ist; ist wieder, was sie ward. Was er am meisten befürchtete, war, er möchte dir zur Last fallen. Das Bezeichnendste an ihm ist nicht, wie er räuspert, und wie er spuckt.*

3. Object Clauses. They are introduced by conjunctions such as *daß*, *wenn*, *wo*; or relative pronouns. *Was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht, das übet Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüt. Ich wünsche, daß dein Glück sich jeden Tag erneue. Sage mir, mit wem du umgehst, und ich will dir sagen, wer du bist. Sage mir, wann er kommt; sage es mir, wenn er da ist.*

4. Very often noun clauses are in apposition with a pronoun in the main clause. *Das ist es, worauf ich hoffe;* really also the one given in 3: *sage es mir, wenn er da ist.*

5. Adjective or, more generally speaking, Attributive Sentences. Many of them may also be classed as being in apposition with a noun in the main clause. The connection with the noun is not in all cases equally close, and the connecting words seem sometimes more suitable for an adverbial than an adjective clause. Very often relative clauses must be classed under this head. *Die Natur ist ein Buch, das auf allen Blättern weise Lehren bietet. Die Freude, wenn er zu uns kam, war stets unbändig. Ich werde den Anblick nie vergessen, da ich die Großmutter bluttriefenden Antlitzes in dem Lehnssessel liegen sah.*

6. Adverbial Clauses. These form a large class with a number of subdivisions, corresponding to the various kinds of adverbs:—

(a) Local Clauses. *Wo man singt, da laß dich fröhlich nieder.* They are introduced by local relative adverbs.

(b) Temporal Clauses. They are introduced by various relative temporal adverbs. Examples hardly needed.

(c) Causal Clauses, introduced by *weil, da*: *Man tut manches, weil man muß.*

(d) Consecutive Clauses or Result Clauses, introduced by *so daß, daß, so . . . daß*. *Es wurde ihm so langweilig, daß er gähnte.*

(e) Purpose Clauses, introduced commonly by *daß* or *damit*. *Den werft mir in die Hölle dort, daß er zu Asche gleich zergehe. Er eilt heim mit sorgender Seele, damit er die Frist nicht verfehle.*

(f) Conditional Clauses are ordinarily introduced by *wenn, falls, im Falle (daß)*. *Es kann der Frömmste nicht im Frieden bleiben, wenn es dem bösen Nachbar nicht gefällt.* As subordinate conditional clauses we regard now commonly earlier interrogative clauses such as: *Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben ein, nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen sein*, formally imperative clauses: *Reiche der Sünde einen Finger, bald hat sie die ganze Hand.*

(g) Concessive Clauses, introduced by *wenn . . . auch, wenn . . . gleich, obgleich, obwohl; obschon, wennschon*. *Ich werde ihm nichts in den Weg legen, obgleich er es wohl um mich verdient hätte.* Sentences such as the following are also concessive clauses: *er falle gleich, so*

preiset ihn das Lied, in which the subordinate clause is originally an imperative sentence. Also: *Wer es auch sei, er hat als Mensch Anspruch auf unsere Achtung. Sag es doch tausendmal, ich gehe doch hin.*

(h) Comparative Sentences. *Wie man's treibt, so geht's. Wie der Mensch säet, so soll er auch ernten. Es ist, als ob ich ihn vor mir sähe.*

(i) Clauses denoting means or instrument or manner. *Er rettete den Freund, indem er das eigene Leben wagte. Er machte sich dadurch verdächtig, daß er einen falschen Namen angab.*

(k) Clauses denoting a limitation of the general content of the sentence: *Ich kenne ihn und bin mit ihm befreundet, soweit es der Unterschied des Standes und des persönlichen Werts gestattet.*

(l) Clauses denoting a contrast. *Statt daß er sich über den wiedergefundenen Bruder freute, murrte er über seine freundliche Aufnahme beim Vater. Der Samariter pflegte den Verwundeten, während der Priester vorüberging.* Still other subdivisions under the adverbial clause are possible, and are often made. The more common ones are those enumerated above.

7. Clauses depending on an adjective or adverb. *Man muß nicht reicher scheinen wollen, als man ist. — Das alles geschah in meiner Gegenwart im Hause so klar, wie ich es hier niederschreibe.* These clauses are often very closely allied to the comparative clauses.

CHAPTER II

THE PARTS OF SPEECH CONSIDERED AS CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE SENTENCE

I. THE VERB — A. ITS VOICES

§ 284. **Active, Passive, Reflexive.** We commonly distinguish in the verb two voices, the active and the passive. The names are not at all well chosen. The difference between the active and the passive voice is not, that by the one an action, by the other a suffering is expressed, as the names would seem to indicate. In *ich schlage* as well as in *ich werde geschlagen* the meaning of the verb is the same. The difference between the two is a difference of viewpoint. *Der Junge schlägt den Hund*, considered with reference to the boy, *Der Hund wird vom Jungen geschlagen* considered with reference to the dog. *Ich ruhe*, is active in form, so is *ich leide*, though in one case the verb expresses the opposite of activity, and in the other suffering, or passivity. — Instead of *Voice*, a term taken from old French Grammar, German grammarians have adopted the term *Genus*, Gender, of the verb, from Latin grammarians; both terms are meaningless or worse. — ‘*Reflexive*’ indicates well what it is intended to convey, that the action expressed in the verb reflects to, turns back upon the subject. Commonly the reflexive is not considered as a voice, probably for the reason that neither Latin nor Greek have any special verb form for it; possibly

also because it is in form quite like a transitive or active verb with its object.

§ 285. **The Middle.** Just a word may be said about another voice, the Middle, which we find quite intact in Greek and remnants of which are found in Gothic as well as also in Latin. This voice denoted in general that the subject carrying out an action was personally interested in it, affected by it. From the earliest Idg. times the middle assumed in many instances passive function, as it often has in Greek, and always in Gothic in the comparatively few instances in which it is found. As to meaning, the middle has always been closely allied to the reflexive, which was used in translating it into the Germanic dialects. In many instances the middle was supplanted by the reflexive. And just as the middle approached the passive, and often took its place, so also the reflexive has in German quite often acquired passive meaning, as will be seen later.

§ 286. **The Voice of the Infinitive.** The Infinitive was developed from a verbal noun and retains some of the qualities of the noun to this day, among others its regular construction with a preposition. The verbal noun had, of course, none of the qualities of the verb, no tense, no mood, no voice. But very early in Idg. times the Infinitive was developed from the verbal noun, and the Infinitive partakes of the nature of the verb, in fact it is in this that it differs from the verbal noun. But it did not develop in the direction toward the verb equally far in all the members of the Idg. family. In this respect the Germanic languages preserve a much older stage than the Greek and Latin, where the infinitive has special forms not only for the voices, but also for the tenses. The German has but one

real infinitive, that commonly classed with the present. Ordinarily this has active force, in fact the view is quite common that this is always the case, probably because in many instances an infinitive consisting of the perfect participle of the verb and *werden* (*geschlagen werden*) is used to express more clearly the passive voice. But quite often, especially in the older stages of the language, and particularly in Gothic, the present simple infinitive has passive function, often standing for the passive infinitive of the Greek, though even in Gothic also the compound forms with *wairþan* can be found. cp. Luke 5, 15: *Jah garunnun hiuhmans managai hausjon, jah leikinon fram imma sauhte seinai zo* (*Und kam viel Volks zusammen, daß sie hörten und durch ihn gesund wurden von ihren Krankheiten*). See, too, 2 Cor. 1, 16; Luke 3, 7; Math. 6, 1, and many other places. Particularly the passage quoted (Luke 5, 15), and Math. 6, 1, seems to indicate that in Gothic the infinitive cannot be said to have been clearly either active or passive in force. In Math. 6, 1, which reads: *Atsaikwiþ armaion izwara ni taujan in andwairþja manne du saihwan im* (*Habt acht auf euer Almosen, daß ihr die nicht gebt vor den Leuten, daß ihr von ihnen gesehen werdet*) the infinitive is really very close to a real noun: cp. *ihnen zum Sehen*. Quite a similar construction we have in the *Nibelungenlied* (Bartsch 394, Lachm. 382).

Do hiez diu küneginne	ûz den venstern stân
ir hêrliche magede:	sin' solden dâ niht stân
den vremden an ze sehene.	

Bartsch translates: *den Fremden zum Anblick*; he might also have said, *den Fremden zum Sehen*. But if it has any

voice at all, this verbal noun surely has the passive voice. With more of a real verbal nature, but also passive in voice, is the infinitive in such sentences as the following, which are common enough: *Daß das nicht lange halten würde, war dem Dinge anzusehen.* — This use of the passive infinitive is particularly frequent with the verbs to hear and to see, from the oldest German down to the present day. The *Hildebrandslied* begins: *Ik gihôrta dhat seggen*, and the *Nibelungenlied* has in its very first stanza:

von fröuden, hôchgezîten,	von weinen und von klagen,
von küener recken strîten	muget ir nû wunder hœren sagen.

Taken in connection with such sentences as: *ich høre den Redner goldene Worte sprechen*, we might be tempted to assume an ellipsis in the last sentence quoted: possibly *ir muget nû den singære wunder hœren sagen*. But there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that even to-day the infinitive really has passive as well as active force, except the circumstance that our feeling has, directly or indirectly, been trained in the classical languages. At the same time it must be remembered, that, as in Gothic so also in German in all stages, though more frequently in modern German, an infinitive expressing clearly the passive voice is formed by means of *werden* and the participle.

§ 287. **The Voice of the Participles.** I. *The Perfect Participle* of transitive verbs when used with *werden* or *sein* to form the passive, is passive; when used with *haben* it is active. The perfect participle of intransitive verbs having as their perfect auxiliary *sein*, has no voice or is active: *ich bin gekommen, ich bin gewachsen*. But there

are numerous exceptions, many of which probably reflect an older stage in which the participle in general was without voice. In the first place, also the perfect participles of a number of intransitive verbs regularly forming their perfect with *haben*, are sometimes used in the function of adjectives, either attributively or in the predicate with *sein*, and are then active, in so far as we can speak of voice in the case of participial adjectives. Sütterlin, *Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart*³, p. 276, enumerates the most common ones: *trunken*, *gedient*, *gelernt*, probably from *lernen* in the sense of *lehren* similar to our colloquial: "I'll learn you how to be careful," *geschworen*, *studiert*, *verdrossen*, *verlogen*, *verschwiegen*, *erfahren*, *bewandert*; e.g.: *der trunkene Mut des Illo*, *der studierte Arzt*, *ein verdrossener Gesell*, etc.

Then, also, perfect participles of some really transitive verbs are used attributively in an active sense; a usage, which though growing, is hardly to be recommended: *die stattgefundene*, *stattgehabte Versammlung*; even worse: *das uns betroffene Unglück* and a few others.

The perfect participle of reflexive verbs, often used as an adjective both attributively and in the predicate with *sein*, loses the reflexive object: *er betrinkt sich: ist betrunken*. Similarly, *besonnen*, *bedacht*, *bescheiden* (if it comes from *sich bescheiden*, and is not rather the old participle of the transitive *bescheiden*, meaning to be informed, discreet, and hence modest), *eingebildet*, *verdient* (from *sich verdienen*, now obsolete), *vergessen*, *verlegen* (from the obsolete *sich verlegen*, to be a laggard), *verbissen*, *verliebt*, *verschlafen*, *verschworen*. But also with real participles the reflexive object is wanting: *erkältet*, *erhitzt*, *geübt*, *geflüchtet*, *beteiligt*,

angemeldet (which may also be from the transitive *jemanden anmelden*), *ausgedehnt*, *bestrebt*, *verirrt*, and a few less common ones.

2. *The Present Participle.* The present participle is active in force. There are a few exceptions, but they really only prove the rule because most of them are felt as more or less unusual. Such are *fahrende Habe*, *die betreffende Person* (probably in analogy to *die betreffende Sache*, i.e. *die Sache, die einen betrifft*, while it would be more exact to speak of *die betroffene Person*); *eine wohlschlafende Nacht* (Schiller), *zu dem vorhabenden Fall* (Lessing), *zu einer vorhabenden Reise* (Goethe), *ihren kostenden Preis* (K. F. Meyer), *zur gutfindenden Zeit* (G. Keller). All these expressions are not at all common, except the two first. With the present participle of reflexive verbs the reflexive pronoun is not omitted.

§ 288. **The Formation of the Passive.** The German has never had a special simple form of the passive, such as we find in Greek, Latin, and to some extent even in the Gothic Middle. In the earliest monuments that have come down to us the passive idea is expressed by means of the perfect participle and an auxiliary. At first the auxiliary *sein* was used almost exclusively. *Werden* was used for the future of the passive just as it was used for the future of *sein* with adjectives. But as early as the tenth century the use of *werden* had been fully developed also for the present passive, and the two auxiliaries were differing in meaning just as they are now.

In view of the general uncertainty regarding their use, it may not be amiss to explain them briefly here. If students kept in mind the root meaning of *sein* and *werden*, the diffi-

culty would at once disappear. *Sein* denotes being, continuance, in any condition; *werden*, on the other hand, etymologically connected with the Latin verb *verto*, originally denoted motion, to turn, first from one place, then from one state to another. The perfect participle of a transitive verb had from the start the function of an adjective, denoting a state. Accordingly, when we connect the perfect participle of a transitive verb with *sein*, making the object of the transitive verb the subject of the auxiliary, our expression indicates that this subject is in the condition created by the action expressed in the transitive verb. *Der Mann ist erschlagen* means, *Der Mann ist ein erschlagener Mann*. The full adjective ending which characterized the participle when thus used, as in Greek and Latin, so also often in Old High German and even in Mhg., — though less commonly there, — has to-day been lost, just as also the predicate adjective has lost its ending. And also with *werden* the participle keeps its meaning: it still signifies the state produced by the action of the verb. But the relation between this state and the subject to which it is referred is different. *Der Mann wird erschlagen*, does not affirm that the man *is* in a given state, but that his condition is changing, that instead of being a safe and sound man, he is *converted* into a slain man. In English, *the man is slain* may be equivalent either to the one or the other of the German sentences, hence probably the confusion. The same difference between *sein* and *werden* holds when they are used with participles as is found when used with adjectives: *ich bin kalt*: *ich werde kalt*. It must be added, however, that possibly to avoid the accumulation of verbal forms but

more probably as a remnant of older usage, the participle *worden* is quite frequently omitted in the perfect and pluperfect passive, where *werden* would be used in the present. This is particularly frequent in North German writers.

§ 289. Agent, Means, Instrument with Passive Verb.

When an active sentence is changed to the passive, the subject of the active verb, if it is to be expressed at all, becomes the agent. In German, we again make a distinction not found in English. In both languages the agent is expressed by means of a preposition and its object. But in English the preposition *by* is used in all cases coming into question: he was killed by lightning, he was killed by his brother. In German we use in the one case *durch*, in the other *von*. Generally speaking, we may say, that, if the agent of a passive verb is a person, or somewhat less commonly, an animal, the preposition *von* is used. If, on the other hand, the agent is a lifeless thing the same relation is expressed by the preposition *durch*. But there are numerous exceptions. It seems that some verbs more decisively demand a person to carry out the action denoted in them. Thus we should ordinarily say: *er ist durch einen Blitzschlag getötet (worden) but von einem Blitz getroffen, or erschlagen worden*. Similarly, mental affections such as jealousy, love, hatred, etc., seem to be felt as persons: *Er wird von Eifersucht zerrissen, von Liebe getrieben, von Reue gemartert*, but: *durch den Sturm ins Haus getrieben*. And it is not necessary to state, that in many cases one speaker might use the one, another the other preposition.

Means or instrument is denoted by *mit*, *durch*, or

mittels, vermittelt. Er ist von dem König durch seinen Kammerdiener an den Hof gerufen (worden). — In passing it may be said that wherever the agent or means or instrument is expressed the auxiliary *werden*, not *sein*, is in place; for obvious reasons. In all such cases not the state in which the subject *is* concerns us, but the *change* it is undergoing.

§ 290. **The Use of the Passive.** The passive is not arbitrarily substituted for the active merely for the sake of varying the expression, though stilistic considerations are not wholly without influence. German is, in this respect, more discriminating than English (cp. Curme, § 196). In general it may be said, that in German the passive is far less common than in English. German agrees in this with the general usage of all the older Germanic dialects. The prominence of the passive in English is probably in a large measure due to the complete disappearance of substantive inflection, or at least of case distinctions, which, as pointed out in § 266, involves that the subject of a sentence in almost every case must precede the object. But where for logical or stilistic considerations the object should have the precedence in the sentence, distinctive case endings will in German ordinarily make the reference sufficiently clear, while in English we have to resort to the make-shift of converting the object of the active verb into the subject of the passive one, a make-shift rarely employed in German, and yet not altogether unknown. Regularly we use the passive in German when we would convey the idea that the subject has undergone or is undergoing some change owing to an action terminating upon it; rather than the idea, that an acting person

is carrying on an action upon an object. As indicated in another paragraph, in using the passive we take a different point of view from that reflected in the corresponding active. Possibly a concrete example may make clear what is meant: *Wir können dies Jahr keinen Wein machen, denn unsere Trauben sind alle gestohlen (worden).* — *Wir leben in einer leichtsinnigen Nachbarschaft. Da hat man uns nun wieder die Trauben gestohlen.* — Or: *Damit die Menschheit erlöst werde, ist Christus gekreuzigt worden.* — *Um sich des unbequemen Bußpredigers zu entledigen, hat man Christum gekreuzigt.* Naturally, the passive is often used in cases where the acting subject is either unknown or of so little importance that it is not worth mentioning. But in such cases, too, if the idea of the action is at all prominent, we prefer the use of indefinite pronouns, particularly *man*, though it seems impossible always to find good reasons, why one and not the other construction should be used.

§ 291. **German Substitutes for the English Passive.** a. The construction with *man* as an approximate substitute for the passive has just been mentioned. It expresses an indefinite, or unknown agent at work upon something. In colloquial speech the pronoun of the third person plural, *sie*, is frequently used in much the same way.

b. *Reflexive.* More nearly an exact equivalent of the passive is the reflexive construction, especially where the subject of the reflexive verb is an inanimate object, and can therefore not in the real sense of the word act upon itself. Instances are such as these: *Die Erde schmückt sich mit frischem Grün*, where we might possibly think of personification. But: *Die Sonne verfinstert sich. Die Tür schließt sich.* The door is closing.

c. *Vulgar Passive*. A new passive, which has as yet found little or no favor in cultured circles, is quite common in some parts of Germany among the masses. *Bekommen*, *erhalten* and *kriegen* are used as a sort of auxiliary with the perfect participle of transitive verbs. Sütterlin gives these examples: *Ich bekomme (kriege) die Zeitung gebracht. Er bekommt alles genommen. Du bekommst die Schuhe ausgezogen*. He explains the construction, rightly I think, as analogous to sentences in which *bekommen* or *kriegen* suits the meaning of the sentence: *Du bekommst das Buch geschenkt*; i. e. *du bekommst das Buch als geschenktes*.

d. A new substitute for the passive may be seen in certain combinations of a preposition governing a verbal abstract with some verb of motion, such as *kommen*, *bringen*, *gelangen*, *führen*. *Das Buch ist nicht zur zweiten Auflage gekommen. Das Stück ist zur Aufführung gelangt*. Similarly: *zur Versteigerung, zum Verkauf, in Verbreitung*, etc. *kommen*, *bringen*, etc. The construction finds little favor with careful writers, but is frequently found in newspaper style.

§ 292. **Variants of the Passive.** a. Regularly the passive can be formed in the case of transitive verbs only. But something resembling the passive is often made of intransitive verbs, when the acting person is not to be mentioned. The pronoun *es* then usually serves as a subject, but is omitted if it does not stand at the beginning of the sentence: *es wird getanzt, gelacht, gesprungen*, etc. And a similar construction is allowable in case of transitive verbs whenever their object is to remain unexpressed: *es wird gesungen, es wird mit dem Hammer geschlagen, es wird geschossen*.

b. A passive of verbs with a dative object is not permissible, though occasionally found.

B. THE TENSES OF THE VERB

§ 293. Preliminaries. 1. *Demand and Supply of Tenses.*

It seems so natural to us to distinguish in language generally three tenses, present, past, and future, that we can hardly conceive of a stage in which this distinction was not made. But upon a little reflection it becomes clear that what we ordinarily call the present quite frequently expresses an action which either took place in the past, or will take place in the future. Neither does a past tense always clearly limit the action expressed in the verb to the past. It quite frequently extends into the present and the future, though it always begins in the past. "These roses were blooming when I came home," does not indicate whether they are blooming still or not. In view of these inadequacies in our accustomed tense system, it seems at least conceivable that language might get along without tense distinction. This seems to have been actually the case in the Indo-Germanic mother language. Formal distinctions which now refer the action of the verb to different times, originally expressed modality. In the verb itself there was nothing to express time. But the past was expressed by means of an adverb which in time was connected with the verb as an augment; in Greek it is commonly used in the imperfect and the aorist. For the present and the future there were no special forms. But early an *s*-suffix was employed to designate futurity, and frequently also the subjunctive and the optative seem to have been used for this purpose.

2. *Older Lack of Tenses.* In the oldest stages of the Germanic languages we find practically but two tenses: the present and the preterite. The present did service for the future also, and occasionally for the past. The preterite expressed all the relations which we now express in the imperfect, the perfect, and the pluperfect. Beginnings of a compound future, perfect and pluperfect, however, are very early found.

3. *Modality.* By modality we mean a special indication in the verb as to the stage to which an action progresses. The Slavic languages in particular still distinguish a number of modalities. The Germanic languages, in so far as they make distinctions at all, have largely recourse to prefixes for this purpose, most extensively the Gothic, less so German in its older and modern form. We distinguish chiefly two modalities, the Imperfective and the Perfective. Imperfective verbs, also called Duratives, express the action in its continuance, as going on. The English developed a special compound conjugation, the progressive form, to express this relation: to be running. Graphically this relation might find expression in a continuous line, not sharply bounded on either end. Perfective verbs indicate reference to a well defined point in the course of the action, either the beginning or the end. If this point is the beginning of the action we call the verbs Inchoatives, or Inceptives, or Ingressives; if it is the end of the action we call them Egressives, or also Perfectives. The prefix *ge-* was the most common means of changing simple, imperfective verbs into perfectives. This was probably its earliest function in connection with the perfect participle also. We use the prefixes *er-*, *zer-*, *ver-* more

commonly for this purpose: Compare: *sehen: ersehen, schlagen: zerschlagen*. Other prefixes, particularly *ge-* and *ent-*, may serve the same purpose, some forming ingressives, others egressives or effectives, as they have also been called.

4. *English Emphatic Conjugation.* — *tun*. As the German has nothing corresponding to the English progressive conjugation, so it lacks also the so-called emphatic form. To emphasize the speaker's interest in his statement, as is done in English by means of the auxiliary *do* (I do know), we have to rely in German either on special adverbs, or on stress, which, of course, play their part in English also. The South German dialects do, indeed, quite frequently use *tun* in the conjugation of any verb, particularly in the present, but without the special significance thus given to the conjugation in English. We might compare in this respect, as a close parallel, the English use of *do* with a negative or in questions: I do not believe him. Do you know him?

5. *Tense Distinctions Valid for the Indicative only.* What is to be said of the tenses in the following has reference to the tenses of the indicative only. The subjunctive is inflected through all the tenses, to be sure, but they have in this connection almost no temporal significance, as we shall see later.

1. *The Present*

§ 294. What we call in grammar the present tense is supposed to correspond to the dividing line between the past and the future. It is apparent that the grammatical term and the actual present do not closely coincide. Thus

we speak of a present imperative, optative or subjunctive in wishes, though usually the action expressed in the verb must belong to the future or the past. Rarely can momentary action be strictly present action. The present is particularly in place, and particularly used, in description and presentation of general facts, as in argumentation, in presenting facts independent of space and time, in generalization. It is, in a way, a tenseless tense.

§ 295. **Present for English Perfect.** While in general the German present is used quite as we use the present in English, the two languages differ particularly in one respect. There are situations which, in strict logic, belong neither in the present nor in the past.

Vergebens harren wir schon Jahre lang
Auf ein vertraulich Wort aus deiner Brust.
So lang ich dich an dieser Stätte kenne,
Ist dies der Blick, vor dem ich immer schaudre.

Iphigenia 68f.

You would translate: "Vainly we have been waiting for years for some confidential word from your breast. As long as I have known you in this place, this has been the glance at which I always shudder." But in reality the action expressed in the verbs is present and future, as well as past. It began in the past, but is not ended. In such cases the German uses the present where the English uses the perfect. If on the point of terminating an action begun in the past, we should use the perfect: *Endlich gibst du uns ein gutes Wort; Jahre lang haben wir darauf gewartet.*

§ 296. **Historical Present.** The regular tense for narration is the preterite. But in common with many other languages, the German can, under certain circumstances, use the present instead. This usage was not native to the Germanic languages. It is not found in the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, nor in the Old Norse narratives of the *Edda*, nor in the Old Saxon *Heliand*, but developed in historical times. A few cases, rare cases in view of the many found in the Greek original, are found in Wulfila's translation of the Bible. The historical present arises when, instead of narrating the events, the narrator, owing to the vividness of his imagination, describes, portrays them, as he sees them passing before his eyes. The use of the historical present is stylistically important. In calm narrative prose there is no call for it. It has been often asserted that there is not a single instance of it in *Hermann und Dorothea*; there are very few, and very few also in Voss' *Luise*. But wherever an episode is to be represented with especial vividness the historical present may be used, but it should not indiscriminately alternate with preterite forms. The particular episode should be carried through in the same tense.

§ 297. **Present for the Future.** The difference between the present and the future does not seem to be very keenly felt, as appears from the fact that the Germanic languages, in their older stages, have no trace of a distinct future at all; and to-day, in many instances where a future would be clearly in place, the present is used. This is especially the case where from the whole situation, or from special adverbs or conjunctions, the reference to a future date is clear, as for example, in the protasis of conditional clauses,

particularly those without a conjunction. Quite often the present is used in the apodasis, or conclusion also: *Entfernst du dich, so wirst du nichts gewinnen* (Tasso, 2611). It also takes the place of the future in clauses expressing a demand or a purpose. *Eile, damit du nicht zu spät kommst*. Some of the more common conjunctions and adverbs in whose clauses the present is apt to take the place of the future, are: *so, wenn, bis, sobald, morgen, bald, nächstens, übers Jahr*, etc.

2. The Future

§ 298. **Future with Modal Auxiliaries.** A periphrastic future was not developed till comparatively late, at any rate no combination with distinctively future force. Translators of Greek and Latin, languages with their fully developed future, were naturally led to devise some means that would serve as a substitute.

The earliest way of indicating futurity was by means of modal auxiliaries, the auxiliary *sollen* preceding all others. It is found very early in Old High German as well as also in Gothic, i.e. the middle of the fourth century; *wollen*, the next oldest, is not found before Otfrid, the latter half of the ninth century. But neither one of them has exclusively the function of denoting futurity. They retain also their original meaning, *wollen* denoting willingness, determination on the part of the subject; *sollen* moral obligation (ought), or the assertion of the will of someone besides the subject. In itself, the action of a verb construed with the present of a modal auxiliary belongs to the future, and it is often quite difficult to determine just how

much of its own value the modal is to retain in a given case.

The use of *wollen* with future signification continues till late into the Nhg. period; indeed, it is not entirely obsolete now: *Es will regnen; es will schon dunkel werden*; Hebel has even: *Der Mond will bald aufgehen*. Yet there is a shade of difference between *wollen* and *werden* in sentences such as these. The assertion with *wollen* does not seem quite as positive as it would be with *werden*, and, if we can judge from our modern feeling, probably neither *wollen* nor *sollen* ever quite coincided with the future of other languages. In literary language they have now largely resumed their inherent meaning, though in the dialects, both in the South and in the North, they are still frequently used with predominantly future function. Moreover, in the Infinitive we can not use forms compounded with *werden*. We can not say: *Er scheint sein Gut verkaufen zu werden* or *Das Gut scheint verkauft werden zu werden*, though we would not hesitate to say: *Es scheint, daß er sein Gut verkaufen wird*. In the Infinitive we use *wollen* or *sollen*: *Er scheint verkaufen zu wollen*.

§ 299. **Werden**, the auxiliary which, in the course of time, supplanted all others in expressing futurity, seems originally to have denoted modality, inchoative action, rather than time. In Gothic there are in the neighborhood of fifty cases in which *wairþan* is used to translate the future of the verb to be (ἔσομαι). In a number of other instances the translator gives the Greek future by an optative. But our real future with *werden* is of a much later date. *Werden* was at first used in this capacity with the present participle, and even then the inchoative idea

was probably always present. With this in view the use of the infinitive with *werden* is more easily explained. For inchoative action was most commonly expressed by *biginnan*, *gistantan*, *biliban* and a few other verbs regularly construed with the infinitive. *Werden* was in this respect in the same category with them, and the existing analogy was strong enough to establish the infinitive with it. But until into the Nhg. period usage is by no means decided as to the infinitive or the participle. The infinitive gained ground for various reasons. A number of dialects, particularly in north and middle Germany, phonetically dropped the *-d* of the present participle, which then coincided in form with the infinitive and was confused with it. Besides, as the construction with *werden* gained more and more specifically future signification, and lost its inchoative connotation, *werden* fell into the same category with the modal auxiliaries still used for this purpose. And the use of the infinitive with modals probably helped to win the day for the infinitive with *werden* also, which Luther consistently favors.

Our so-called conditional dates back to the time when *werden* still had predominately inchoative meaning: *er würde gehen*. When *er wird sprechen* meant: 'he begins to speak,' a similar use with *werden* in the past was common and quite in place as in *Reinart Fuchs*: "*blinzende er singende wart*"; and *er würde sprechen* was but the subjunctive corresponding to *er ward sprechen*. As the future idea in *werden* became more emphatic, the preterite indicative naturally became obsolete. But by that time the preterite subjunctive, having acquired the special meaning of unreality, had been sufficiently isolated to main-

tain its position in the paradigm, though the corresponding indicative was lost.

It may be added that in many German dialects the periphrastic future is hardly used at all, neither with modals nor with *werden*. The present still predominates in its old function of a future.

§ 300. **Im Begriff sein or stehn.** As a sort of substitute for the future we may regard the use of the phrase *im Begriff sein* or *stehn* with the infinitive and *zu*. It seems not to be very old, but is now quite commonly used to express an action just about to be carried out. The English equivalent is *to be about* or *on the point of*. It is also used instead of some periphrasis with *werden* when an action is referred to the future relative to a past tense. *Er starb, als er gerade im Begriff war sein Amt anzutreten*. Instead of this phrase also *wollen* or *sollen* are frequently used in similar sentences: *Er starb, gerade als er sein Amt antreten wollte, or sollte*.

§ 301. **Potential Future.** Practical considerations lead our attention to one use of the future which is unknown to the English. The future is never the expression of an action actually accomplished, or going on, but of an action expected or to be expected. Hence it involves in very many cases an element of doubt or uncertainty, and approaches in this respect the potential subjunctive. In another paragraph we found that in Gothic many Greek future indicatives are rendered by subjunctives. Cp. our: How much will this be? Conversely, we use the future indicative in order to designate a statement as mere opinion or surmise: *Der Vater wird ihm (wohl) helfen, — geholfen haben*. In Latin and other languages the subjunc-

tive in many cases approaches closely to the future in meaning. Possibly the former use of the modals *wollen* and *sollen* with future, but also with potential function, may not have been without influence in the development of this usage. In them the subjunctive element, the element of uncertainty, seems even greater than in the simple future, as is apparent in such phrases as: *Er soll ein weiser Mann sein; man will wissen*, etc. In parts of the United States, and in Scotch they say: What time is it? *It will be* five o'clock, meaning: It is probably five o'clock. Similar usage occurs in Spanish and Italian.

3. *The Future Perfect*

§ 302. **Tense on Paper.** The future perfect is practically a tense on paper only. Its place is commonly taken by the perfect; occasionally also by a simple preterite, which, however, is probably quite universally felt as abnormal. More common than the preterite is the present. There are also other ways to avoid the clumsy combination of verbal forms. Thus the sentence: *Er wird sein Geld bald durchgebracht haben* might better be supplanted by: *Er wird mit seinem Geld bald fertig*, or *zu Ende sein*. It is used potentially, rarely as a real tense.

4. *The Preterite and the Perfect*

§ 303. The Germanic languages had in their older stages but one form for the past, the simple preterite, most of whose forms go back to an older perfect. Probably under the influence of the classic languages two new tenses were added, the perfect and the pluperfect. As to

their formation we shall have to speak in another paragraph. It seems advisable to treat the use of the preterite and the perfect together, because whatever difference there is becomes the clearer by comparison.

§ 304. **Distinction between Perfect and Preterite.** The Perfect, or the Present Perfect, as English grammarians significantly call it, is a past tense, as far as the action of the verb is concerned, but in using it we have reference not so much to the action in itself, but rather to its effect, its meaning for the present. If we want to designate an action as simply belonging to the past, without emphasis upon this relation to the present, we use the simple preterite. Wilmanns' (III, p. 187 f.) treatment of this matter is particularly happy and lucid. I translate a few lines from him: "If we have seen a neighbor working in his garden we should ask him: *Was machten Sie denn in Ihrem Garten?* If, on the other hand, we merely observe the effect of his work, we should say: *Was haben Sie denn da in Ihrem Garten gemacht?* In the sentence: *Nun hat er seinen besten Freund verloren*, we state an event that took place in the past, to be sure, but in doing so we think of the present, of the bereavement of the one surviving, and the adverb *nun* is really referring to the present. But the sentence: *Nun verlor er seinen besten Freund*, does not point beyond the past. We mention the event without bringing it into relation with the present, and the adverb *nun* refers to the past. The tense of narration is the preterite; the perfect is used in cases where the effect of what is narrated is observed in the present and applied to it."

§ 305. **Inherent Meaning.** This meaning of the perfect we should naturally expect from its formation. The

perfect participle used in the perfect tense, both with *haben* and *sein*, primarily denotes a state resulting from an action; in the case of verbs with *sein*, the state of the subject: *ich bin erwachsen*; in the case of transitive verbs with *haben*, the state of the object: *ich habe ihn gefangen*.

§ 306. **Use for Emphasis.** From this use of the perfect, denoting the importance of a recently past action for the present, was developed another usage, according to which an occurrence may be singled out from a number of past events as important or significant by being in the perfect. As a particularly striking example of this both Wustmann and Wilmanns quote the end of *Werther's Leiden*. We have there a number of short, disjointed sentences, all in the preterite, each denoting one of the many sad duties connected with the funeral of Werther. Then the paragraph ends: *Handwerker trugen ihn. Kein Geistlicher hat ihn begleitet*. As if Goethe meant to say: Not enough that he ended thus. The sad end did not even terminate his trials. No parson attended him, and what his fate *now* may be God only knows.

§ 307. **To express Isolated Events of the Past.** The preterite being pre-eminently the tense for narration, we use the perfect also when an accomplished fact is to be stated for itself, outside of a course of connected events, to relate which is the province of the preterite. In English we say: Luther translated the Bible into German; in German: *Luther hat die Bibel ins Deutsche übersetzt*. But the historian would say: *Auf der Rückreise von dem Reichstage zu Worms wurde Luther von seinem fürsorglichen Kurfürsten auf die Wartburg entführt. Dort übersetzte er die Bibel ins Deutsche*.

§ 308. **Perfect for Preterite to narrate Events of the Recent Past.** Another peculiar use of the perfect does not seem yet to be quite satisfactorily explained. An event of the recent past at the occurrence of which we were present we narrate in the preterite: *Als ich gestern spazieren ging, fiel ein Kind von der Brücke und ertrank.* But if I have it from hearsay I should have to use the perfect: *Gestern ist wieder ein Kind von der Brücke gefallen und ertrunken.* Or: *Bei dem fürchterlichen Grubenunglück in Cherry sind an zweihundert Menschen umgekommen.* But if I chronicle the events of a year I should have to use the preterite or the present: *Im Dezember kamen bei einem Schulbrände in Cleveland an zweihundert Kinder um.* Probably in these cases, the perfect indicates the state now existing, which was impressed upon me by the narration of the events leading up to it. In other words, the narrator had an experience which he relates, step by step leading up to the sum, the effect of it. For me the sum is the important part, and I change the preterite to the perfect. He narrated the course of events leading up to the existing condition; I state this condition. Indeed, an eye-witness may even state an isolated occurrence in the preterite, because it is in his memory connected with other events.

§ 309. **No Sharp Line between Preterite and Perfect.** From what has been said it must be plain that there are instances in which it is wholly a matter of choice whether the preterite or the perfect should be used. If in the speaker's mind not a succession of events, but rather their effect and bearing upon the present, the state which they brought about, is prominent, he may use the perfect; if

he narrates in a more disinterested way, he will choose the preterite. In many instances, therefore, the temperament of the speaker will decide.

§ 310. **Sectional Peculiarities.** But there are also other cases which do not conform to normal usage. In the older stages of the language exceptions in favor of the preterite might be ascribed to the fact, that the perfect was a new tense and had not fully come into its right. Exceptions in our day have sometimes been ascribed to considerations of rhythm in prose, as well as in poetry where they are unquestionably often due to the constraints of rhythm and rime. But in no inconsiderable measure probably also dialect influence plays its part. To make the study of English responsible for any confusion in North Germany is probably ascribing greater influence to the school and to English study than the facts warrant. On the whole the North German dialects use the tenses according to the ordinarily prescribed literary usage. But in South Germany the preterite has disappeared from the dialects altogether and the perfect has taken its place. This was probably occasioned by the loss of final *e* in inflectional syllables, whereby the third singular of the preterite of many weak verbs was made to coincide in form with the corresponding form of the present: *er lobt'*: *er lobt*. In order to have an unequivocal sign of the past, the perfect was substituted in such cases, and thence spread until it had usurped the entire province of the preterite.

Another circumstance may have aided in its development, the fact that in questions with regard to some recently past action we regularly employ the perfect, even where the narrator of the same event would naturally use

the preterite. *Als ich vor einem Jahr in Leipzig war, traf ich eines Tages ganz unerwartet einen alten Freund aus der Heimat.* But in a question: *Hast du nicht, als du vor einem Jahr in Leipzig warst, ganz unerwartet einen alten Freund getroffen?* The reason for this difference is indicated in § 300. In the narrative, this occurrence was linked with others, an event of the past. In the question it is isolated, receives its own, independent significance for the present, or no question would be asked about it. Hence it regularly calls for the perfect. Easily, in analogy with the form of the question, the answer, too, might take the perfect, and thus inaugurate its use in narrative also. A similar difference in tense form between question and answer exists also in English: Did you see the physician when you intended to? or: Have you seen the physician? Answer: I saw him yesterday. But influence from question to answer occurs only under certain conditions. In a petulant answer I might repeat: Yes, I did see the physician.

Strangely, South Germans, when using the literary language, quite frequently employ the preterite where the perfect would be in place. To account for this anomaly it has been suggested that they have not developed a sufficiently safe feeling for the proper use of the tenses and, knowing that often their perfect is out of place, they swing too far in the direction of the preterite. If this explanation should be correct, it might be urged that it is no easy matter to acquire an idiomatic, discriminating use of the tenses in any language.

§ 311. Development of the Perfect. a. *Of the Perfect Passive.* Originally the perfect participle was purely

an adjective, void of all verbal quality. And even after it began to partake more or less of the nature of the verb, it could often be used with adjectival function; thus in the predicate with *sein* if it denoted a state, as participles of transitive verbs with *sein* always do — a state brought about by some outside agent, usually in the past, as in: *Die Stadt ist zerstört*; rarely they express an action as still going on: *Der Mann ist verachtet* = *wird verachtet*. With somewhat more emphasis upon their verbal nature, participles of transitive verbs were quite early construed, first with *sein*, later with *werden*, to supply a form for the passive found in the classical languages. Participles denoting a state resulting from an action continued in the present, such as *verachtet*, *geliebt*, *verehrt*, etc., were in their meaning too closely associated with adjectives to allow a feeling for any really verbal, passive function to develop when they were construed with *sein*. *Werden* with its inherent inchoative meaning, gave more prominence to the verbal force in these participles, and they, accordingly, more commonly took *werden* than *sein* to form the passive.

There were, then, two forms for the passive, one with *sein*, one with *werden*. Tense distinctions depended on the tense of these auxiliaries: the present of either with the past participle formed a present passive, the past of either, a past passive. But in as much as *werden*, after losing its inchoative meaning, laid stress rather upon the continuation of the action, it soon gained predominance as the present passive auxiliary, while the participle with *sein*, by contrast ordinarily denoting an action as belonging to the past, soon acquired the force of a perfect passive, which

it retains to this day in many parts of Germany. If, however, *werden* was the passive auxiliary for the present, it is not surprising that grammarians, or possibly even legitimate common consciousness, should feel that the perfect passive must be formed by means of the perfect of this auxiliary: *worden sein*. Thus, in time, the paradigm was completed, and to the full form of the perfect passive, *worden* is by many grammarians considered indispensable. Yet to this day many authors of recognized merit, especially North Germans, frequently omit this *worden*, even in passive sentences in which the agent is expressed and therefore all doubt as to the really passive character of these sentences disappears.

b. *Development of the Perfect for Intransitive Verbs.* A perfect, consisting of *sein* and a participle, having thus been developed for the passive, the same auxiliary gained similar function when used with the participle of intransitive verbs of perfective meaning, which, like the passive participle, as an adjective denoted the result of an event or action: *Der Hund ist entlaufen*. It is not unlikely that the new function of forming a perfect which was acquired by *sein* in connection with participles of transitive verbs, helped it to establish itself in the same function with perfect participles of perfective verbs. Participles of imperfective verbs cannot readily be used as adjectives in the predicate. We cannot say: *Der Hund ist gelaufen*, as we cannot say: *ein gelaufener Hund*. They do not, therefore, lend themselves to the formation of a perfect tense by a combination with *sein*.

c. *Development of the Perfect for Transitive Verbs.* Since about the beginning of the ninth century *haben* was

similarly combined with the perfect participle of transitive verbs to form an *active* perfect. Originally here also the participle was an adjective, agreeing with the object of the verb, and not infrequently inflected: *Ich habe das Messer gefundenes*, meaning, I have the knife as a "find." The combination gradually acquired more temporal, verbal function, and the ending of the participle was dropped.

d. *Formation of the Perfect for Imperfective Intransitive Verbs.* Probably largely through the force of analogy, *haben* was finally combined with the participle of imperfective intransitive verbs, the only class as yet unprovided with a perfect, and thus was completed the system for all verbs.

§ 312. **Haben and sein for the Active Perfect.** **Old and New Criterion.** 1. *Haben for Transitives.* *Haben* has always been used as the auxiliary for the perfect active of transitive verbs, and is so used now.

2. *Change of Criterion.* *Sein* was at first used with intransitive perfective verbs, *haben* with the imperfective. But in the course of time the line of demarcation between the two auxiliaries was slightly changed. The earliest, and by far the most common of all verbs construed with *sein* in the older stages, are *kommen* and *werden*: *kommen*, a verb of motion to a definitely indicated or known place, *werden* (originally also a verb of motion) designating a transition from one state into another. These two verbs became the types for two large groups conjugated with *sein*: verbs of motion in a definite direction, and verbs of transition from one state into another.

3. *Sein with Verbs of Motion in Definite Direction.* In

themselves, verbs of motion may be imperfective or perfective, and they were accordingly in older periods conjugated either with *haben* or with *sein*. But verbs of motion with perfective meaning, whether ingressive or egressive, that is verbs in which the beginning or the end of the motion is indicated, are always verbs denoting a change of location either from a definite place, or to a definite place; though not all verbs denoting a change of location are necessarily also perfective: cp. *wandern*, *reisen*. However, in verbs of motion the change of location was in time felt as the distinctive element calling for *sein*. The following rule is good for practical purposes: Intransitive verbs in which motion to a certain place, or motion from a certain place is more or less clearly indicated either in the meaning of the verb itself, as in *kommen*, or by means of prefixes, or accompanying adverbs, are conjugated with *sein*. In general it must be added that *sein* has in several instances usurped the place of *haben*, even where no change of place is denoted. Thus *gehen* is always conjugated with *sein*, probably because it is so often coupled with *kommen*; *er kommt und geht*. In case of other verbs which usually denote a change of location, usage wavers when they are used duratively. In but very few cases *haben* has encroached upon *sein*.

4. *Sein with Verbs Denoting Transition from one State to another.* The second large group of intransitives forming their perfect with *sein*, are verbs denoting transition from one state into another. This is sometimes expressed in the verb itself, sometimes, often, by means of prefixes, separable or inseparable, or by appropriate adverbs. In the few instances in which we may conceive of the verbs of

this class as imperfectives, *haben* is used. *Er hat gealtert: ist gealtert. Die Wäsche hat gebleicht: ist gebleicht. Die Wunde hat gut geheilt*, has made progress; *ist geheilt: is healed*. So in every case, with *haben* we have the implication of progress toward the end, with *sein*, of reaching the end. Exceptions in modern German are few.

5. *Anomalous Verbs. Sitzen, liegen, stehen, bleiben, sein, geschehen.* These verbs cannot be classed in either one of the large categories. *Sein* and *bleiben* are always conjugated with *sein*. *Bleiben*, for our feeling a durative, was originally a perfective, denoting the beginning of a new action as in: *er bleibt stehen*, i.e. he stops. In Swedish and Danish the verb has become equivalent to our *werden*. So the use of *sein* with *bleiben* is explained from its older meaning. *Sein* itself is conjugated with *sein*, probably in analogy with *werden*. *Sitzen, liegen, stehen*, were originally sometimes verbs of rest, as they are now commonly in literary language, but sometimes also verbs of motion, as they still are in some of the dialects, particularly in the south. As verbs of rest, durative, they rightly took *haben*; as verbs of motion, when perfective, they took *sein*, but not consistently. In the south *sein* always predominated, and still does. This may be due to the fact that very early *gelegen* and *gesessen* were used as pure adjectives, and as such also they would call for *sein*. We still say: *Das Haus ist schön gelegen = liegt schön; gesessen* we use thus in compounds only: *angesessen, erbgessen; gestanden* could easily follow by analogy. In the language of North Germany, which is again considered as standard, these three verbs are regularly conjugated with *haben*. *Geschehen* is perfective.

6. *Compounds* of these verbs (*sitzen, liegen, stehen*) do not necessarily take the same auxiliary as the simple verb. They follow the same rule: if change of location is implied *sein* is used, if not *haben*: *er hat gestanden, ist aufgestanden*. In the south, these compounds as well as the simple verbs take *sein*.

5. *The Pluperfect*

§ 313. The preterite and the perfect can either be relative or absolute tenses. We speak of an absolute tense when we designate in it an event as past or future simply with reference to the time in which we are speaking; a tense is said to be a relative tense if it refers to an event as past or future relative to another given time. The perfect may denote a past event relative either to the present, when it is an absolute tense, or to the future. The pluperfect is usually a relative tense and denotes an event previous to a past event. Not infrequently its place is taken by the preterite particularly after *ehe* and *bevor*. In general we can say, the pluperfect has the same relation to the preterite as the perfect has to the present.

§ 314. **Omission of the Auxiliaries of Tense.** In subordinate clauses the auxiliary is often omitted, where no ambiguity can arise on account of it; not commonly if it should be in the subjunctive. Its omission was more common in the latter part of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century than it is now, particularly in *Lesung*. In conversation it is kept.

§ 315. **The Participle in the Form of the Infinitive.** If on the perfect or pluperfect of certain verbs an infinitive depends, the regular participle used in these tenses takes

the form of the infinitive. The verbs in question are the modal auxiliaries and *lassen*, *heißen*, *helfen*, *brauchen*, *hören*, *lehren*, *lernen*, *machen*, *fühlen*, and *sehen*: *Ich habe ihn kommen sehen*, etc. The cause of this strange usage is not quite apparent. But the explanation first given by Lachmann and accepted by Grimm seems fairly plausible. The construction arose at a time when the augment *ge-* could be quite freely omitted from the participle. This being done, the strong participle of the modal auxiliaries and *wissen*, and also of *lassen*, *heißen*, *sehen*, was quite like the infinitive in form. In the older stages of the language the modal auxiliaries had no perfect participles at all. Only when the new perfect and pluperfect had been fully developed was the need of a participle for the modals also felt. At first also the weak participle was used, quite as commonly as the strong probably, either with or without the augment: *gewollt* and *gewollen*, *mocht* and *gemögen*, *dorft* and *gedorfen*. But even then the augment was more commonly omitted when the modals were used as auxiliaries before some other infinitive. Thus confusion arose, and these apparent infinitives in time were felt as real infinitives, and then attracted other verbs, particularly those which, like the modals, took a dependent infinitive without *zu*. The process here described took place also in the case of a few other verbs, viz. *anfangen*, *pflügen*, *vermögen*, which have now dropped out of the list again.

C. THE MODES OF THE VERB

Preliminaries

§ 316. **General Significance.** The modes originally represented various mental attitudes of the speaker with

regard to the action expressed in the verb. It is probably impossible satisfactorily to reduce to one root meaning the various functions which have, in the course of its development, been gathered under each mode. In the oldest accessible stages of Idg. each mode serves a number of more or less closely related functions. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, § 748, states them as follows: The Imperative served to induce another to some action, in the form of a command, or a desire, or an entreaty. Originally it was not used in prohibitions. The Optative, in the main, designated wish and possibility. The Conjunctive, or Subjunctive, as we call it, denoted will and anticipation. Originally there was probably little if any difference as to the significance of these modes in main and subordinate clauses. But very early conjunctive clauses frequently became subordinate, — hence also our name subjunctive. In time constructions arose in which the subjunctive had lost all of its original significance and served no other purpose than that of designating a clause as subordinate.

Professor Hale of Chicago, who has made numerous contributions to the subject, makes the division of the subjunctive and the optative somewhat more minute. The subjunctive, according to him, denoted (a) Will, (b) Anticipation. The optative denoted: (a) Wish; (b) Obligation or Propriety; (c) Natural Likelihood; (d) Possibility; (e) Ideal Certainty. Who of the two eminent scholars more nearly represents the actual state of the Idg. I am not competent to judge. But Hale attempts to establish in the various descendants of the Idg. mother an unbroken continuation of most of these subjunctive and

optative functions, either through actual subjunctive or optative forms, or through various other devices, particularly the use of modals. For the Germanic languages at least, this attempt is clearly a failure.

§ 317. **No Sharp Line between Old Optative and Subjunctive.** In looking at either Brugmann's or Hale's division of the old modes it is apparent that the line between the meanings of the optative and of the subjunctive cannot be sharply drawn. On that account, no doubt, the two modes coalesced, not only in the Italic dialects but also in the Germanic and Slavic. The Germanic forms are largely old optatives, or, in other words, the functions of the old subjunctive have been added to those of the old optative.

§ 318. **Subdivisions of our Subjunctive.** Looking once more at the various functions assigned to the old subjunctive and the old optative, it appears that these two modes have reference to the operation of two faculties of the human mind, if we may be permitted to speak of separate faculties of the mind. Under the subjunctive the *will*, under the optative *wish*, and with a slight modification *obligation* and *propriety*, may be classed under *Volition*, while the other subdivisions more or less clearly refer to the *Intellect*, to knowledge or the lack of it. The optative having absorbed the old subjunctive, it is no longer possible to say whether what we now commonly call the subjunctive in any construction comes from one or the other of the older modes. Besides, in the history of the German language not a few uses of the subjunctive have gradually disappeared; and, on the other hand, others have been developed; on the whole, however, the use of the subjunc-

tive has been constantly waning as time goes on. At all events, whether dividing lines between the two old modes can be established or not for a time far remote in the past, in the case of the German subjunctive they would not avail. And so, merely for convenience sake, it may be allowable to make, on the basis of the dual nature of each of the older modes (*Volition*: *Intellect*), a new division of the German subjunctive. We will call our subjunctive the *Optative Subjunctive*, in so far as it is expressive of *Volition*, in its various forms, as wish, will, demand, entreaty, etc.; we will call it, on the other hand, the *Potential Subjunctive*, in so far as it is expressive of an intellectual element, of knowledge and certainty, or rather the lack of it.

It is understood that there is nothing in the form of the subjunctive to call for this division. Nor is it always possible to assign a given subjunctive with any great assurance to one division or the other. If we venture to make various subdivisions under each head, and to classify under the potential subjunctive, e.g., functions of the subjunctive apparently more or less heterogeneous, it is to indicate only that in our judgment the particular function could most naturally have been developed from the general meaning for which the potential subjunctive has been assumed to stand. We shall now proceed to a consideration of the three modes.

1. *The Indicative*

§ 319. **The Indicative really not a Mode.** The German, in common with the other Germanic languages has three modes: the Indicative, the Imperative, and the

Subjunctive. Considering our definition of "Mode," we should hardly apply that name to the indicative. It is a mode only in contrast with the other modes — negative; much as the neuter is a gender in contrast with the masculine and feminine. The indicative merely makes a statement with regard to something, without adding any subjunctive element, without indicating the attitude of the speaker toward his statement, as the subjunctive and imperative do. Only the indicative of the future naturally always contains an element of uncertainty. It verges in this respect on the potential subjunctive. Often, as we said in another paragraph, the future Indicative is used with really potential meaning, referring not only to the future, but also to the present. The indicative of the future perfect, having reference to the past, is more often used in this potential function than any other.

2. *The Imperative*

§ 320. **Limitation in Form and Use.** The Imperative mode is the mode of behest, command; often also of entreaty. From the nature of the imperative certain verbs should not take it, e.g., *wollen* or *sein*. In construction with an adjective *sein* is frequently found in the imperative, *sei gut*, *sei fleißig*. A number of other verbs might be mentioned in the same connection. As a matter of fact, the imperative of almost any verb can be found; which goes to show, again, that language does not always observe the rules of strict logic. For logical reasons, however, the imperative is rarely found in the passive. A few conventional phrases, such as *sei mir gegrüßt*, *gesegnet*, etc. (never *werde*), are exceptions proving the rule. Neither is there,

in German, an imperative for any tense but the present, though, of course, it has reference always to the future. A real imperative *form* we have only for the second person, singular and plural. Indeed there is some ground for thinking that also the second plural is not, strictly speaking, an imperative, but an indicative. However, the pronoun being omitted as in the singular, we feel it as a real imperative. In the other persons the optative takes the place of the imperative.

§ 321. **Substitutes for the Imperative.** 1. *The Indicative.* In comparison with the other modes with their strongly subjective element, the indicative may, with some limitations, be called the mode of reality. Moreover, it takes the place of the imperative, where it often expresses assurance on the part of the speaker that his command will be carried out. This is particularly the case if the sentence has the form of a declarative clause: *Du kommst hierher.* To be sure, the spoken imperative sentence in this form can be readily distinguished from the declarative clause. Once more, they are quite alike on paper only.

Sometimes also a sentence has imperative force, which, on paper, has interrogative form, either that of a direct or of an indirect question. *Kommst du endlich? Ob du herkommst! Willst du herkommen?* These sentences, like the declarative, express a rigorous command. But while the declarative form adds an element of assurance, the interrogative seems to be rather expressive of impatience on the part of the speaker. In the army these forms of command have almost wholly supplanted the regular imperative. Much, of course, depends also on the tem-

perament of the speaker, and all degrees of urgency can be expressed by different modulations.

2. *The Participle and Infinitive.* Equivalents of imperative sentences are to be seen also in perfect participles and infinitives used as commands, usually of a peremptory manner. But here also as in all sentences with a strongly subjective element, much depends upon the manner in which the words are uttered. Railroad officials regularly use such forms as: *Einsteigen! Nicht rauchen!* while a military officer may still more peremptorily charge his men: *Stillgestanden! Aufgesessen!*

3. *Periphrastic Imperative: Modal Auxiliaries and lassen.* a. *Sollen.* For the imperative of the second plural and singular we find in earlier monuments quite frequently the indicative of *sollen* and the infinitive. We have this form still in the commandments: *Du sollst nicht töten. Du sollst Gott deinen Herrn lieben. Du sollst Vater und Mutter ehren.*

b. *Wollen.* For the first person plural also *wollen* is used in a sort of imperative sense. Corresponding to such sentences as, *steht auf* are others as, *wir wollen aufstehen; wir wollen in der nächsten Stunde das dritte Kapitel behandeln.*

c. *Lassen.* With the infinitive the imperative second singular or the second plural of *lassen* is used to form an imperative for the first person plural or for the third person singular or plural: *Laß uns, ihn, sie, gehen; Laßt uns gehen*, etc. Whether the singular or the plural of *lassen* is to be chosen is determined by the number of persons addressed; yet it seems as if the singular form *laß* were gradually encroaching upon *laßt* and *lassen Sie*, being not

infrequently used where one of the others might be expected.

d. *Können*. In mild commands the indicative, in still milder ones, the past subjunctive of *können* is frequently found: *Ihr könnt jetzt nach Hause gehen; ihr könntet wohl dem Vater helfen.*

e. *Mögen*. Particularly in imperative clauses with concessive force the indicative of *mögen* is similarly used: *mag er doch kommen.*

f. *Müssen*. Also *müssen* occurs in mild imperative, and especially in prohibitory sentences: *Du mußt jetzt kommen. Du mußt nicht immer weinen.*

§ 322. **Imperative in Subordinate Clauses.** In subordinate clauses the imperative can, from its nature, not be used in its real function. But imperative sentences have developed into regular subordinate clauses, with conditional or concessive force: *Tue das, so wirst du leben. Sei noch so verträglich, der böse Nachbar findet einen Anlass zum Streit.*

3. The Subjunctive.

a. The Optative Subjunctive

§ 323. **Imperative and Optative Closely Related.** That the optative subjunctive is, in its significance, closely related to the imperative is evident alone from the fact, that the place of the first and third person imperative is wholly taken by the optative subjunctive. On the other hand, the imperative not infrequently approaches the optative subjunctive in meaning. In the Lord's Prayer the two are used side by side, the optative for the third person, the imperative for the second as is to be expected, but both

with optative rather than imperative force: *Geheiligt werde dein Name, dein Reich komme, dein Wille geschehe*, side by side with: *Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute, vergib uns unsere Schuld, führe uns nicht in Versuchung, erlöse uns von dem Übel*.

§ 324. **Present Optative in Wish Clauses.** The simple present subjunctive quite usually has more the function of a command than of a wish, implies some authority on the part of the speaker. In the older stages of the language it was more common with plainly optative force, and in certain more or less stereotyped phrases, especially in wishes to be fulfilled by Providence, it is still so used: *Gott gebe dir langes Leben! Gott bewahre! Gott behüte! Da sei Gott vor!* If we compare with such sentences the simple present optative in ordinary clauses, an element of determination, of authority on the part of the speaker, is plainly apparent. Thus in *Faust* (l. 858): *Ein Tag, den alle Menschen feiern, Er sei für mich ein Freudentag*. That is, Faust is determined to resign himself to enjoyment; whether the day is to be for him a day of joy lies wholly within his power.

§ 325. **The Preterite Subjunctive with Optative Force.** The preterite and pluperfect subjunctive, as we shall see later, is pre-eminently the mode of unreality, the *Irrealis*. This element of uncertainty, of unreality is present also in the preterite and pluperfect subjunctive when used in optative sentences. Hence a wish expressed in the preterite subjunctive gives to the speaker more the rôle of a suppliant, relying, not on his own authority over persons or conditions, but rather on the good-will of others, or upon propitious circumstances. *Wenn nur die Hilfe käme!*

O daß du mich hörtest! The pluperfect subjunctive with optative force implies impossibility of fulfillment: *Ach, daß Ihr damals mir Gehör geschenkt hättet!*

§ 326. **Modal Auxiliaries with Optative Force.** Instead of the simple present subjunctive of the verb in optative clauses we have more frequently the present subjunctive of some modal auxiliary with the infinitive. Three modals are used for this purpose, *wollen*, *müssen* and *mögen*.

a. *Wollen*. — *Wollen* seems at first to have been used almost exclusively in clauses of indirect discourse and with the second person. And, to this day, in so far as it is used with the second person it is largely in indirect discourse. But it has also spread to the third person, and is here used both in direct and indirect discourse. *Gott wolle uns gnädig sein! Das wolle doch ja der Herr erwägen!* Very rarely, practically never, the present of *wollen* is used with anything but persons. Wunderlich quotes a sentence from a newspaper: "*Wolle unsere Freude keine vergebliche sein.*" But every one feels such a sentence as abnormal. Quite without being conscious of its original meaning we do use the past, *wollte*, in some phrases with a non-personal subject: *Wollte sich doch nur die Krankheit legen! Wollte es doch nur endlich wärmer werden!*

b. *Müssen*. — In Mhg., and less frequently in early Modern High German, *müssen* was used with optative force. We find some sentences in the Bible, Deut. 33, 7: *Ihm müsse wider seine Feinde geholfen werden.* Ps. 35, 26: *Sie müssen sich schämen und zu schanden werden; . . . sie müssen mit Schande und Scham gekleidet werden, die sich wider mich rühmen.* Ps. 137, 6: *Meine Zunge müsse an meinem Gaumen kleben, wo ich deiner nicht gedenke, wo ich*

nicht lasse Jerusalem meine höchste Freude sein. It is well to bear in mind here the root meaning of *müssen*, from which its optative use started. It was 'to be in position, to have opportunity for something.'

c. *Mögen*. — The auxiliary most commonly used in optative clauses is *mögen* in the subjunctive. Originally it was used similarly in the indicative. Walther has: *Nû mugen sie doch bedenken die gemeinen nôt*. Really this had the same meaning as when we say: *Du kannst doch aufpassen*, or English: 'You can be careful, can't you?' It indicated the ability on the part of the subject to do something, and implied the desire on the part of the speaker to have it done. Gradually the subjunctive was introduced and in time this form of *mögen* quite supplanted *müssen*. Luther uses both: Luke 18, 41: *Was willst du, daß ich dir tun soll? Er sprach, Herr, daß ich sehen möge*.

§ 327. **The Preterite Optative of Auxiliaries.** These auxiliaries can be used in the preterite as well as in the present, with nearly the same difference which we found to exist between the present and preterite subjunctive of the verb itself.

§ 328. **The Optative in Subordinate Clauses.** The Optative subjunctive finds its place also in various dependent clauses.

a. *In Relative Clauses.* It is used in relative clauses: *Gott sprach: Lasset uns Menschen machen, ein Bild, das uns gleich sei, die da herrschen über die Fische im Meer*, etc. In *herrschen* naïve readers probably feel an indicative, and probably from such confusing forms the indicative in similar sentences started, gaining ground until it has now almost supplanted the subjunctive in relative clauses.

Its use in such clauses is practically confined to literary language, and is not universal even there.

b. *In Temporal Clauses.* In temporal clauses the subjunctive is sometimes used with optative force, though here also the indicative is encroaching. Frequently an action is designated as continuing until the occurrence of some other event that is to be expected and to be desired. The optative idea implied in such sentences finds expression in a subjunctive most frequently in clauses introduced by *bis*, *ehe*, *bevor*, the indicative again encroaching upon the field. In the older stages of the language the subjunctive was the rule; often also in clauses where no occasion for an optative can be detected, just as it seems lacking in the following sentences, Matthew 5, 18: *Bis daß Himmel und Erde zergehe, wird nicht zergehen der kleinste Buchstabe, noch ein Titel vom Gesetz, bis daß es alles geschehe.* The reason becomes clear from the origin of the usage. In Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon, the temporal particles used in such clauses were plainly comparative adverbs in their origin, as *ehe* and *bevor* are. For some reason it had become customary to have a subjunctive after any comparative; hence it was used in these clauses also. At first without any meaning, it gradually acquired, in many cases at least, plainly optative force. This becomes more apparent in some clauses adding the particle *nicht*, to the disgust of grammarians insisting on strict logic in language: cp: *Komm mir nicht wieder, bis du dich nicht vollständig vor ihr gerechtfertigt habest.* This subjunctive becomes, therefore, another instructive example of the fact that if forms and constructions in the course of time lose one function, they

usually either assume another, or they are apt to be supplanted by other forms.

c. *In Conditional Clauses.* As the imperative is used in conditional clauses, so also the optative subjunctive finds its place here, though less frequently, and in most cases closely approaching the imperative in meaning. Gal. 6, 2: "*Einer trage des andern Last, so werdet ihr das Gesetz Christi erfüllen.*" It is hard to say, whether in a sentence like this we might not as well see an imperative of the third person, though subjunctive in form, to be sure. In the following sentence from Goethe's *Jahreszeiten* the particle *nur* indicates plainly the subjunctive: "*Bald, es kenne nur jeder den eigenen, gönne dem andern Seinen Vorteil, so ist ewiger Friede gemacht.*"

d. *In Object Clauses.* In object clauses with *daß* which depend on a main clause *distinctly indicating* a desire or wish of the speaker, the optative subjunctive is now less commonly used, while in Mhg. it was the rule. Often the clauses in question have *gebieten*, or *wollen*, or *wünschen* or *bitten* or some similar word in the main clause, and if a subjunctive is used in the subordinate clause, it is in most cases impossible to say whether it is the potential subjunctive of indirect discourse, or the optative. In many other instances the form cannot be distinguished from the indicative. Thus in Schiller's *Bürgschaft*:

der König gebeut,
Daß ich am Kreuz mit dem Leben
Bezahle das frevelnde Streben.

Some feel in *bezahle* an indicative, others a subjunctive. In cases, on the other hand, in which the element of vo-

lition is only rather hinted at in the main clause, the *daß* clause is still more likely to have the subjunctive, though more often probably its place is taken by an infinitive with *zu*. *Ich trage darauf an, uns für constituirt zu erklären*, or: *daß sich die Versammlung für constituirt erkläre*. Here also the indicative is common.

e. *In Purpose Clauses*. In purpose clauses with *daß* or *damit*, earlier also *auf daß*, the optative is most persistent, from the earliest times to the present; and even here the indicative is gaining ground. Schiller's *Bürgschaft*: *Er eilt heim mit sorgender Seele, damit er die Frist nicht verfehle*. Lessing: *Darum eben leiht er keinem, damit er stets zu geben habe*. Tell: *Ziele gut, daß du den Apfel treffest auf den ersten Schuß*. *Auf daß* gives antiquated coloring: *Doch will ich sogleich die heiligen Worte über euch lesen, auf daß ich euch stärke* (Goethe). Schiller, with the indicative: *Nimm hinweg des Auges Wolke, daß es seinen Gott erkennt*. Instead of the simple indicative we have quite frequently also a modal, *soll*, or *mag* in the indicative, and of course, also in the subjunctive. Tieck: *Hast du mich darum meinen Eltern geraubt damit ich hier in der Wüstenei verschmachten soll?* Chamisso: *Versorgt mit Singvögeln auf's neu den Rosenhag, daß sich an ihrem Zwitschern mein Ohr erfreuen mag*. —

Very commonly purpose is expressed by *zu* or *um zu* with the infinitive.

f. *In Subject Clauses*. In subject clauses used with a predicate containing an element of volition we quite frequently have the subjunctive, of optative origin, particularly in earlier Nhg. "*Es ist besser, du essest kein Fleisch und trinkest keinen Wein*." In clauses like this the sub-

junctive is not so easily confused with the subjunctive of indirect discourse as in object clauses, and on that account it is better preserved. For in indirect discourse the subjunctive is particularly apt to be replaced, in many cases, by the indicative; hence also in object clauses, with originally optative force.

g. *In Concessive Clauses.* As the imperative is used in concessive clauses, so also the optative subjunctive finds its place there. To be sure, this optative does not in reality express a wish, or, if it does, it is from defiance, or resignation, rather than from a genuine desire. *Möge es kosten, so viel es will: wenn er einmal ein tüchtiger Mann ist, wird's reichlich Zinsen tragen.* In Nhg. especially the combinations *wer auch, wie auch* are used with the subjunctive in concessive clauses but it is here probably a potential. In other concessive clauses, *gleich, schon, wohl*, in combination with *ob* or *wenn* or *so viel* help to emphasize the concessive idea. But with them the indicative is the common mode. Iphigenia: *Er falle gleich, so preiset ihn das Lied.* Maria Stuart: *Ich will dich retten, kost' es tausend Leben.* Where we concede something that has actually occurred in the past, usually also where we concede an existing fact, we use the indicative. Tell: *Ist es gleich Nacht, so leuchtet unser Recht.* In plain prose the indicative is more common throughout.

h. *In Restrictive Clauses.* Not far removed from the subjunctive in concessive clauses is that used in restrictive sentences. It is now almost wholly confined to the phrase: *es sei denn*, and is only now and then used more independently. Originally the restrictive clause was probably an independent optative clause added to a negative main

clause. In form the restrictive clause is a main clause to this day; its meaning can invariably be given by a negative conditional clause. Tasso: "*Und kommt man hin, um etwas zu erhalten, erhält man nichts, man bringe denn was hin*" = *wenn man nichts hinbringt*. — Hermann und Dorothea: "*Er entfernte sich niemals weit, er sagt' es ihr denn.*" Bible: *Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn. Und so jemand auch kämpfet, wird er doch nicht gekrönet, er kämpfe denn recht.* Also without *denn*, and with the indicative. Tell: "*Niemals kehrt er heim, er bracht euch etwas.*" From this free construction developed the stereotyped: *es sei denn, daß*.

i. *In Elliptical Clauses.* From the optative subjunctive in object clauses developed first the use of the subjunctive and then of the indicative in elliptical clauses with prohibitive imperative force. Götz: "*Daß du dich nicht unterstehst zu verraten, wem wir dienen.*" Grillparzer: "*Und daß mir niemand angreift, bis ich's sage.*" But also in commands: *Daß du mir jetzt in die Stadt gehst.* In Mhg. and early Nhg. the subjunctive was the rule in such sentences. Now its place has been almost wholly taken by the indicative.

j. *Subjunctive by Attraction.* In the older stages of the language the subjunctive was, by attraction, very often used in dependent clauses modifying a main clause with an optative subjunctive. This usage is now obsolete except in a few phrases, notably: *es sei dem, wie ihm wolle.*

b. The Potential Subjunctive

§ 329. **The Deliberative and Dubitative Subjunctives.** That the present subjunctive had potential force in the

early stages of German becomes probable from its use in the functions ordinarily called deliberative and dubitative.

1. *The Deliberative Subjunctive.* In the oldest stages of our language the present subjunctive was used in interrogative sentences for the purpose of indicating that the speaker was puzzled, was pondering. Particularly in Gothic there are a number of clear instances of this use. The sentence which Luther translates: "*Wer ist dieser? Denn er gebietet dem Wind und dem Wasser und sie sind ihm gehorsam,*" shows in Gothic the subjunctive in place of the indicative *ist*. If we wanted to express clearly what this subjunctive means, we should now have to say: "*Wer nur dieser Mann ist, or sein mag,*" etc. The use of the subjunctive for this purpose, however, becomes obsolete very early. Even in Old High German there are very few if any clear cases, and in Modern German it is not found. The particles *nur, wohl, etwa* in a measure supply the need in this direction. Also *sollen* and *wollen* are used to much the same effect. *Was soll er nun anfangen?* "*Was will aus dem Kindlein werden?*" Sometimes also a past subjunctive: *Was könnte der Mensch jetzt wollen?*

2. *The Dubitative Subjunctive.* There is no real difference between the deliberative and the dubitative subjunctive. The first denotes uncertainty as to the course of action of another, the dubitative expresses doubt, indetermination regarding the speaker's own action. In Gothic again there are a number of clear instances. We either resort to modals or use the indicative.

Far more commonly than the present subjunctive in deliberative and dubitative force we now use the preterite and pluperfect subjunctive: *Was wäre dabei zu tun? Wer*

hülfe nicht gern? But they verge closely on the unreal subjunctive, which we shall meet presently.

§ 330. **The Diplomatic or Polite Subjunctive**, so-called, is sometimes used in utterances as blunt and inconsiderate as possible. It is not easy to determine whether this use of the subjunctive started from the optative or from the potential subjunctive, though it now plainly inclines to the latter. The first person singular or *man* with *denken*, *meinen*, *glauben* and *wissen* are most frequently used in this way, either these verbs being in the past subjunctive themselves, or their infinitives being combined with the past subjunctive of *sollen*, *mögen*, *können*, and very often *dürfen*: *Man möchte*, or *sollte meinen*, or *glauben*, *das Bild müßte sprechen*. *Man dürfte leicht glauben, das mir jedes Mittel recht sei*. The general force of the subjunctive in these sentences is to make a statement mildly, reservedly, but much if not all depends upon the manner in which they are uttered: *Ich wüßte nicht, daß ich etwas Unrechtes gesagt hätte*. In questions with *dürfte* usually a wish is expressed with great modesty: *Dürfte ich die Herrschaften zu Tisch bitten?*

§ 331. **The Contemplative Subjunctive**. The dubitative and deliberative subjunctives are usually found in interrogative sentences, and most often give expression to some subjunctive element with regard to a state or action still to be expected. Of a different nature is the subjunctive, tolerably well designated as the contemplative subjunctive, in sentences like these: *Da wären wir nun endlich zu Hause*. *Da stünd ich nun am Ziel meines Lebens*. There can be no thought of a weakened statement, as was suggested in the polite subjunctive; if anything the sub-

junctive adds strength. Compare a similar result brought about in English by a change of word order: Well, here we are: Well, we are here, the first corresponding to the German sentence with the subjunctive, the other to a corresponding one with the indicative. It is doubtful from what side we should approach this odd use of the subjunctive. For the English: "Well, here we are at last," most speakers probably would consider, "What next?" as an appropriate sequel; similarly the German: "*Da wären wir endlich*" seems to call for a "*Was nun etwa?*" A closely related form is: *So wären wir endlich da*. Might that possibly be elliptical, the conclusion of a conditional clause possibly: *Wenn man nach all den Enttäuschungen noch seinen Augen trauen könnte: so wären wir endlich da?* The interrogative inflection is not uncommon: *So wären wir endlich da?* Cp. *Wallensteins Tod*, I, 4, 1.: "*Wär's möglich? Könnst' ich nicht mehr, wie ich wollte? Ich müßte die Tat vollbringen, weil ich sie gedacht, nicht die Versuchung von mir wies?*" etc. Also Schiller's *Über die tragische Kunst*. After some discussion of its nature he says: "*Die Tragödie wäre demnach dichterische Nachahmung einer zusammenhängenden Reihe von Begebenheiten.*" A slight element of indetermination seems often to be present, — if not with regard to the statement itself, as might well be in the sentences from Schiller's essay, yet with regard to its implications; and it seems most natural to connect this subjunctive with the one we called the polite or diplomatic subjunctive.

Indirect Discourse

§ 332. **Excuse for Treating it Here.** Plainly it is not a logical procedure to treat of Indirect Discourse in its

more general aspects under the head of Potential Subjunctive. But the main field of the potential is found in indirect discourse, and for practical reasons it is not desirable to treat the subject in different places.

§ 333. **Characteristics of Indirect Discourse.** By Indirect Discourse we understand primarily the report of an utterance or of the thoughts of some one else. But we include in it also repetition of the contents of our own utterances or of our own thoughts, after words of speaking, thinking, feeling, hoping, knowing, seeing, etc.

The specific characteristics of indirect discourse are by no means in all languages equally distinct; nor does the point of view seem to be quite the same in various languages, nor at all times in the same language. In the older stages of the German language as well as of the English, and in other languages it was the most common occurrence to have mixed with constructions of indirect discourse more or less lengthy parts of direct discourse. Again, there are some language families in which, it is claimed, no special form for indirect discourse appears at all. That there should be any speech community whose members do not communicate to third parties what they hear from others is quite inconceivable. It must mean, either that people repeat what they have from others without indicating in any way that they have it from hearsay; or that they use for this purpose what we call direct discourse. It is quite probable that they use both, now the one, now the other mode.

Also the linguistic devices employed to indicate indirect discourse differ in various languages, with the result that in some, as in the Germanic languages, indirect and direct

discourse are not so far removed one from the other, while in others, as in Latin, there are rather sharply drawn lines between the two. In Latin indirect discourse, the speaker, using the accusative with the infinitive, transmits to a third party what he has heard, without indicating in particular that he has made it a part of his own knowledge. In English, after certain words, we often follow the Latin in this regard: I thought him to be there. In German, on the other hand, we convert, more or less thoroughly, any information received from others into an object of our own knowledge and transmit it as such, though indicating more or less clearly its extraneous source.

Comparing Indirect Discourse sentences in German (and English) with the corresponding direct statement, we usually find one or more of the following characteristics: the use of conjunctions; a change of mode from the indicative or imperative to the subjunctive; a change of person in various directions, as the case demands; a change of the adverbial relations of time and place. All these changes would naturally suggest themselves except that of mode. This it will be expedient to treat at some little length.

§ 334. **Development of the Subjunctive in Indirect Discourse.** The change of mode, it is generally thought, is in its origin only apparently a change. In the oldest stages of German as well as of other languages, dependent clauses of indirect discourse have a subjunctive much less frequently than later. And we have every reason to believe that in such clauses as have the subjunctive, this mode was probably also used in the independent clauses which they represent. In either, the subjunctive served

in one of its regular functions; it was more than merely a means of designating a subordinate clause. If we to-day designate the subjunctive of indirect discourse in German, as in the main a potential subjunctive, — a designation which does not necessarily apply also to other languages, — we are justified in doing so not so much, perhaps, because in the majority of cases the original force of the subjunctive was potential, but because very early the subjunctive of indirect discourse assumed potential meaning.

Scholars attempting to reduce the subjunctive of indirect discourse in its origin as well to one root meaning, disagree as to that meaning. Behaghel, an eminent German grammarian, in his „*Der Gebrauch der Zeitformen im konjunktivischen Nebensatz des Deutschen*,“ is inclined to see in it a potential; Tenny Frank, in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VII, 64 ff, contends that the majority of the group of words regularly construed in the older periods of the Germanic languages with the subjunctive, contained a collateral meaning of wishing, or hoping, and would call for an *optative* subjunctive in the dependent clause.

Once we grant that also in the early periods of the Germanic languages the subjunctive was in its meaning either optative or potential, not only in main, but also in dependent clauses, it follows that in indirect discourse clauses, where the optative was inappropriate, the subjunctive must have been potential, unless we assume that in such cases it served a merely formal function. But this assumption involves also a weakening of the argument for the indirect discourse subjunctive as an optative; for a mode,

or any other linguistic device, does not ordinarily by force of analogy acquire a merely formal function as long as its real function is still distinctly felt.

Only when the original, inherent meaning of the subjunctive in indirect discourse clauses grew less distinct, and only when in a considerable number of them it began to be felt chiefly as a sign of indirect discourse, did it spread over the entire field, encroaching after words of speaking, saying, where in the older period it was less consistently used. It did not come in after words of exact knowledge, such as *wissen*, *sehen*, etc., where from of old the indicative was too strongly entrenched. Aside from our general considerations, it is fair to conclude also from the consistent use of the indicative after such words, in periods when the subjunctive still seems to have had its own meaning, that in certain sentences of indirect discourse it had potential function.

And it seems that later, in contrast with the indicative after *wissen*, *sehen*, etc., the subjunctive of indirect discourse acquired a suggestion of potential force in all cases, even where originally it might have had optative force. Thus after the first person singular present not only of *sagen* but also of *hoffen* (which we might expect to be followed by an optative), and of *glauben* and *meinen* (which would seem to call rather for a potential) we use the indicative. The indicative evidently came into such sentences because if I, who quote, 'say,' 'believe,' 'think' or 'hope,' what I quote, it has for me not infrequently the value of knowing. After the second and third persons, and also the first plural, formerly more regularly, but still quite commonly, the subjunctive is used. Though this is now a

mere form without meaning, the existing fact is, as so often in language, the lingering body of a construction whose spirit has flown.

§ 335. **Present Use of the Subjunctive and the Indicative in Indirect Discourse.** At present it is not fair to make the sweeping statement that all subjunctives in indirect discourse are without meaning, save that of indicating that the source of the speaker's information is extraneous. For we have still some subjunctives plainly optative also in indirect discourse, others just as plainly potential, usually unreal conditional. Yet neither can we claim that the indirect discourse subjunctive is to-day potential throughout, potential least of all in the sense that it casts doubt on the reliability of the source quoted.

There are a number of expressions, such as, *es wird allgemein angenommen, man behauptet, es liegt auf der Hand*, English "it is clear," "there is little doubt," etc, which less plainly than others designate the following statement as indirect discourse. After such expressions there has always been more or less wavering as to the mode. The more a speaker feels inclined to make a statement appear as his own, the more is he apt to use the indicative. There are, however, also formal considerations which can only in part be explained on logical grounds. Hard and fast rules for the use of one mode or the other can often not be given. A few general rules may be attempted, however.

1. As indicated in another paragraph, the meaning of the governing word has always had a decided influence upon the choice of the mode in the dependent clause. After a word expressing certainty of knowledge with a present tense the indicative is commonly used, but not

always. The most common verbs of this kind are *wissen* and *sehen*.

2. For somewhat similar reasons the indicative is also more likely to be found with verbs expressing merely an opinion, such as *glauben*, *meinen*, *denken*, *vermuten*, if they are used with the present of the first person than if used with another person, or in the past. The reason is that even after such words the statement has for the speaker the value of certainty, in very many cases at least. In cases in which this certainty is distinctly not present the subjunctive is more likely to be used, but often the indicative comes in by analogy. *Ich glaube wohl, daß er kommen werde*, or *wird*. *Ich glaube es ist Zeit, ich hoffe, daß es noch Zeit ist*. But: *er hofft, daß es noch Zeit sei*, or *ist*.

3. Of even greater importance for the choice of the mode in the subordinate clause is the tense of the verb in the governing clause, less so in earlier periods than now. The present in the main clause distinctly calls for an indicative in the dependent clause, the preterite for a subjunctive. If the speaker considers the statement in a dependent clause, introduced by a conjunction, and depending upon a present verb, as valid, he will use the indicative, not only after the first but also after the other persons. *Er weiß, daß der Weg zu den Damen durch die Kammermädchen geht*. Also: *Er glaubt, daß du ihm helfen kannst*. *Er hofft, daß du hier warst*. But after a past tense the subjunctive is everywhere at least permissible, and in most cases required. *Er wußte, daß der Weg zu den Damen durch die Kammermädchen gehe*. *Er glaubte, daß du ihm helfen könntest*. *Ich glaubte, es sei Zeit*. The subjunctive *must* be used if the action of the subordinate clause is

past for the speaker, but was future for the subject of the main clause: *Er glaubte, daß du kommen werdest*, or *kädest*.

The explanation of this peculiar influence of the tense of the main clauses upon the mode of the dependent verb seems to me to be this. In not a few instances verbs of thinking and believing when used in the past introduce a statement which did not prove to be a correct surmise. *Ich glaubte, du würdest kommen. Ich meinte, sie könnte wohl noch wieder gesund werden. Ich dachte, ich sähe ihn.* In these sentences the subjunctive would, from the nature of the sentences be preferable to the indicative. By analogy it spread to all indirect discourse clauses after a preterite in the main clause, even in the case of verbs of positive knowledge: *Ich wußte, daß du ein harter Mann seist.* However, for special purposes the indicative may, even after a preterite verb, sometimes be used. *Er wußte, daß ich sein Freund war*, if the speaker means to admit the friendship, *sei* or *wäre*, if he does not explicitly wish to do so. We should in the latter case, however, rather use *glaubte*, or *meinte*, or *war überzeugt*, than *wußte*. If *wußte* is used, the indicative is the more common. But after a present tense even of verbs expressing doubt or mere surmise, the indicative is common: *Ich bezweifle, er bezweifelt, daß du ein Dichter bist.* This must be due either to simple analogy with other cases, which is the more probable, or to the feeling that the potential element finds sufficient expression in the governing verb.

4. In clauses introduced by *daß* we are more likely to find the indicative than in clauses without it. The reason for this difference must be seen in the desire to be clear. The conjunction designates a clause with sufficient clear-

ness as dependent. Many clauses without a conjunction need the subjunctive for this purpose, particularly after main clauses with a word of *speaking*: *Er sagt, daß niemand kommen wird: er sagt, es werde niemand kommen.*

5. Whenever the speaker wishes expressly to confirm the assertion or the subjective opinion of the person whom he is quoting, he uses the indicative in the indirect discourse clause: *Schon Schiller sagt, daß der Übel größtes die Schuld ist*, implying: I know him to be right in his assertion. Generally we are content to give the subjective opinion of another without expressly confirming it: *Schon Schiller sagt, daß der Übel größtes die Schuld sei.*

§ 336. **Indirect Questions.** Whatever has been said with regard to declarative clauses in indirect discourse applies also, in general, to indirect questions: only questions answerable by yes or no are always introduced by *ob*, others by interrogative pronouns or adverbs. In many of the latter kind the dubitative and deliberative subjunctive find their place, as we saw in a former paragraph. These subjunctives cannot always be distinguished from the subjunctive called for by indirect discourse. In clauses answerable by yes or no, the subjunctive used to be the rule in older periods. But even in Mhg. the indicative had noticeably gained ground, and this tendency has been steadily growing; so that at present we can say generally, that after a present tense in the governing clause we regularly have the indicative in such questions, though the subjunctive is still allowable. *Er will wissen, ob du schon einen Storch gesehen hast.* After a past tense in the governing clause the subjunctive is still the rule; *Er wollte wissen, ob du schon einen Storch gesehen habest.*

§ 337. **Optative and Unreal Subjunctives in Indirect Discourse.** As in indirect questions introduced by an interrogative adverb or pronoun the dubitative and deliberative subjunctive are frequently found, so verbs of wishing, hoping and the like in the main clause are often followed by an optative subjunctive in the dependent clause, just as we should have the optative in direct discourse. Similarly also the subjunctive of unreal statement, in all its various functions, is transferred to the indirect discourse clause just as it is found in the corresponding clause of direct discourse. *Käme doch endlich der Vater nach Hause!*: *Er wünscht, daß doch endlich der Vater nach Hause komme* or *käme*.

§ 338. **Tense of the Subjunctive in Indirect Discourse.**

1. Where in direct discourse we have for any reason a past subjunctive, the same is, or may be also kept in indirect discourse. Only the preterite optative subjunctive is often changed to the present; the past or pluperfect unreal subjunctive is regularly kept.

2. Where an indicative of direct discourse is rendered by a subjunctive in indirect statement, the tense of the subjunctive formerly depended wholly upon the tense of the governing verb. In the older stages of the language there was a sequence of tenses almost, if not altogether, as strict as that in Latin; i.e. after a present in the main clause we find a present, after a past tense we find a past in the dependent clause. In literary German this usage is no longer recognized as a principle.

Possibly because the preterite and pluperfect subjunctive so commonly have a strong element of doubt and unreality, the literary language to-day uses the present sub-

junctive (in which are to be included also the perfect and future, whose finite verbs are present) both after a present and a past in the governing clause, with this important exception: In cases where the form of the present subjunctive coincides with that of the indicative, the preterite form of the subjunctive is used, even though it coincides with the preterite indicative in form.

3. A pretty good working rule is this: Use the same tense of the subjunctive in the indirect discourse clause which you have employed for the indicative in the direct discourse: *Ich komme: er sagt, er komme. Ich werde kommen: er sagte, er werde kommen.* But all past indicatives of direct discourse are given by the perfect subjunctive in indirect discourse, except where the forms coincide, and we have past for present auxiliaries: *er ist* or *war gekommen*, or *er kam: er sagt* or *sagte, er sei gekommen.*

4. The imperative of direct discourse is rendered in indirect discourse, by the present subjunctive, not infrequently also by the present indicative, of *sollen* with the infinitive. The present subjunctive of the verb may also be used, particularly if in the main clause we have a form of *wollen*: *Geh nach Hause: er will, daß du nach Hause gehst.* A mild imperative is rendered rather by *mögen*: *Kellner, bitte bringen Sie mir zwei Portionen Braten: er möge uns*, etc. But we must always bear in mind that in case the present subjunctive has no distinct form, the preterite takes its place.

5. In the dialects there is a wide difference of usage. In some of them all trace of the subjunctive is lost, at least all distinctive forms, just as in English. If in using the dialect we have in certain sentences the feeling that we

are using subjunctives, it is not at all improbable that this is due to the influence of the literary language. But also in so far as the dialects preserve a subjunctive they differ as to their usage, both one from the other, and from the literary language. None of them have preserved the old sequence of tenses with the subjunctive. Some use the preterite, others the present subjunctive altogether. By far the majority of the dialects use the preterite; only the southwest corner of Germany and Switzerland uses the present, and yet this is the basis of literary usage.

6. It cannot surprise us, if influences of the dialects manifest themselves also in literary production. We should expect, then, and do actually find, that writers of the north, where the subjunctive is practically extinct in the dialect, give a wider range not only to the indicative than southern dialects and literary usage allow, but also frequently have unwarranted preterite subjunctives, particularly after a past verb in the main clause, because, just as the English language, the northern dialects use the past in indirect discourse for the present of the direct after a past in the governing clause. On the other hand, writers in whose dialects the present subjunctive prevails altogether, as for instance Gottfried Keller and Rosegger, not infrequently use present subjunctives where, for the sake of clearness, the literary standard calls for past forms.

§ 339. **Exception.** In general, so far as considerations of clearness permit, and other considerations either of a formal nature, or of meaning, do not call for the indicative, literary German sanctions in indirect discourse the present subjunctive, both in cases where a word of saying or thinking or the like formally designates the statement as indirect

discourse and where no such word is found. *Er kam in großer Aufregung nach Hause. Es sei ein Kind verunglückt.* If in sentences of the latter kind we repeat what some one else hopes or expects from the future, or intends for the future, we more commonly use the preterite subjunctive, though the present can also be found. "*Er hatte sie wiedergefunden. Er verlangte nichts, er war wunschlos. Sie würde bei ihm sein, stets in seiner Nähe, das war ihm genug. . . . Wenn sie nur gesund bliebe, würde alles sich wieder machen. Durch strenge Sparsamkeit würde sie versuchen,*" etc. (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. III, p 209.)

c. The Unreal Potential, or Irrealis

§ 340. **General Meaning.** What we call the unreal potential subjunctive in German is always a preterite subjunctive (including the pluperfect and the so-called conditional). We saw in § 325 that the preterite subjunctive is also frequently used in optative clauses, and it appeared that even in these it always connects with the optative idea an element of doubt and uncertainty. The chief function of the preterite subjunctive in German has always been to express unreality, which appears most plainly in conditional clauses.

§ 341. **In Conditional Clauses.** Not all conditional clauses take the preterite subjunctive. In simple, plain conditions without any implication as to the possibility or probability of fulfillment, the indicative, usually in the present tense, is used. But the preterite subjunctive finds its place in conditional clauses, if the assertion of the main clause (the conclusion or apodosis) is depending upon a supposition whose realization is not considered possible or

probable, or which is at least doubtful. Often this supposition is expressed in a subordinate clause (the condition or protasis); often it is left unexpressed. The preterite subjunctive including the conditional, expresses more or less improbability of fulfillment; the pluperfect subjunctive expresses a mere assumption known to be unfulfilled: *Wenn er käme, wäre alles gut*: he may, or may not come. But: *Wenn er gekommen wäre, wäre alles gut gewesen*: he did not come.

§ 342. **The Conditional: würde.** Instead of the preterite subjunctive of the simple verb, frequently *würde* and the infinitive is used. The origin of this construction was mentioned in § 299. It is comparatively young, spreading rapidly in recent years. Good usage sanctions it in the main clause of a conditional sentence only, but it can be frequently found in the condition also.

§ 343. **Condition in Different Form.** *a.* Often the condition is not expressed in a formal conditional clause, but in a main clause, loosely connected with the sentence containing the hypothetical assertion: *Ich hätte ihm gern geholfen, aber er ist nicht gekommen.*

b. Frequently also the unreal condition finds no actual expression at all, but must be understood from the context, or the situation. This is particularly common with the adverbs *gern*, (*willig*) and the like, and the sentence is usually felt as having optative, with *willig* rather concessive, force: *Ich würde gern einmal die Heimat wiedersehen. Ich wollte ihm willig helfen.*

c. After *beinahe*, *fast*, *bald*, *bei einem Haar*, and a few other expressions signifying a slight falling short of some point, the unreal subjunctive is often used: *Fast wäre es*

des Guten auch zu viel geworden. Beinahe könnte ich auch fragen, wo er jetzt sei.

d. The unreal subjunctive of *sollen*, *müssen*, *können*, also *dürfen*, expresses that a duty has not been fulfilled, an opportunity not properly improved. *Du solltest fröhlich und gutes Mutes sein. Du müßtest ihn nur öfter besuchen. Der vertriebene Offizier hätte uns auch wohl sein Kompliment machen können. Wozu nützt es, dürft' ich nur hinwieder fragen.* Often these sentences again verge closely on the optative sentences.

D. THE UNINFLECTED PARTS OF THE VERB

I. The Infinitive

§ 344. **Nature of the Infinitive.** The infinitive was in its early history a descendant of a verbal noun. But in the course of its history it assumed more and more the nature of a verb, though to this day it lacks a number of the more essential characteristics of the verb. In entering into combinations with other words, itself being the governing element, it follows sometimes more nearly the habit of the noun, then again more nearly that of the verb. Compare in this regard: *Das Dichten und Trachten der Menschen ist böse von Jugend auf*, where the use of the article alone clearly indicates the nominal nature of the infinitives. Possibly a trifle closer to the verb are the infinitives in the following sentences: *Kämpfen und Jagen war unserer Vorfahren größte Lust.* Clearly of a verbal nature we have two infinitives, accompanied by adverbs, in Nathan's words: *Siehst du nun aber, wie viel andächtig schwärmen leichter als gut handeln ist.* Or again in *Tell* where it governs an accusative object: *Das Schwarze treffen in der*

Scheibe, das kann auch ein anderer. Somewhat unusual is Luther's sentence: *Wollen habe ich wohl, aber Vollbringen das Gute finde ich nicht*, where we should rather expect the genitive: *des Guten*. With the genitive the infinitive is frequently used, regularly in the character of a noun: *das Gelingen des Werkes, Künstlers Erdenwallen*, etc.

The infinitive is rarely either a pure noun, or a pure verb. For a full verb it always lacks the designation of person and mode; and as a noun it is usually not as definite and concrete as nouns made by means of suffixes, or primitive nouns. Compare: *Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust, Meine Wanderung ist zu Ende*. The infinitive is used in two forms: with or without the preposition *zu*. We consider them separately.

1. The Simple Infinitive

§ 345. The Simple Infinitive in Elliptical Constructions.

The simple infinitive has from of old been quite frequently used in combinations which strike us as elliptical, though it is often not at all easy to supply the ellipsis. They always contain an exclamatory element, and one might suspect that the infinitive is used, somewhat like the interjections, without really entering into the construction of a sentence. Instances are: *Sengen und brennen! Ich schwören? Ich mich besinnen? Ich auf die Heirat dringen?* (All from Lessing). *Ich untreu sein? — Ich verreisen! Ich dich nicht lieben!* (all from Goethe).

But ordinarily the simple infinitive depends on the verb of the sentence.

§ 346. The Simple Infinitive as a Noun. In earlier stages of the language the simple infinitive served in very

many constructions in which now the infinitive with *zu* only is permissible. When Walter writes: *Uns ist erloubet trûren und fröude gar benomen: Trauern ist uns erlaubt und Freude ist uns geraubt*, he also probably felt *trûren* as a noun because of the close parallelism with *fröude*. But in the following lines from the *Nibelungenlied* the writer quite probably felt the infinitives as verbs, not as substantives: *clagen unde weinen mir iemer zæme baz*; or also in: *wie zæme uns mit iu strîten*, though with *zemen* we have also the infinitive with *ze*: *im zæme niht ze dagene: ihm ziemte nicht zu schweigen*. Where to-day the simple infinitive is used either as a subject or an object, we feel it as a noun: *Geben ist seliger als Nehmen: es ist seliger zu geben, als zu nehmen*.

Orthography is not generally a safe mirror of linguistic feeling. Yet it is significant that we do not capitalize the infinitive when it would seem to have substantive function but is connected with an object or with adverbs after the manner of the verb. *Unrecht leiden ist besser als Unrecht tun. Das heißt nicht Gott vertrauen, das heißt Gott versuchen. Frei atmen macht das Leben nicht allein*. But in all these instances also the infinitive with *zu* might be used.

§ 347. **The Simple Infinitive with Verbs.** *a.* In the older stages of the language the simple infinitive without *zu* could be much more freely used with verbs than now. It is now practically confined to the modal auxiliaries, and a few other verbs. Some of these, in common with the modal auxiliaries, have the same subject as their dependent infinitives, namely *lernen* and *brauchen*: *ich lerne tanzen; ich brauche nicht tanzen*. But with both the infinitive with *zu* is also common; in fact, with *brauchen* the simple in-

finitive without *zu* is used in negative sentences only; and for *er braucht zu arbeiten*, we should rather say: *er muß arbeiten*. Between *ich lerne schreiben* and *ich lerne zu schreiben* there seems to be a slight difference similar to that between the English, I learn writing, and I learn to write. The infinitive without *zu* is the object of *lernen*: the one with *zu* rather denotes aim or desired goal.

b. Quite a number of verbs governing a dative object used to be followed by a simple infinitive. Thus Mark 4, 11 reads in Gothic: *izwis atgiban ist kunnan rūna*, Luther: *Euch ist es gegeben, das Geheimnis des Reichs Gottes zu wissen*. Though still found in Ohg., the simple infinitive very early gave way to the one with *zu*, and in modern German we have but one verb with the dative and the simple infinitive left; *helfen*: *ich helfe ihm arbeiten*. And with *helfen* also the infinitive with *zu* is used: *ich helfe ihm, fertig zu werden*. With the simple infinitive, the subject of the main verb actually participates with the person designated by the dative in the activity expressed by the infinitive: *ich helfe ihm arbeiten, lesen, ernten*, etc.; used with an infinitive with *zu*, *helfen* seems to denote rather, that the conditions are to be brought about, under which the person denoted by the dative may act: *ich helfe ihm, zu arbeiten*, almost: I enable him to work; compare the English: I help him earn his living, and: I help him, to earn his living.

c. *Lehren, heißen, lassen* and *machen* and occasionally a few other verbs are used with an accusative and the simple infinitive. Of these *lehren* seems to have the accusative as an object, and the infinitive is explanatory. But with *heißen, lassen* and *machen* the accusative cannot very

well be conceived as the object of the verb. The real object is the infinitive, and the accusative denotes the subject of the infinitive: *ich lasse ihn kommen: ich heiße ihn schweigen: ich mache ihn reden*. This construction, known from Latin grammar as the subject accusative with the infinitive, is quite common in English, but here it is plainly an innovation due to foreign influence, because in Anglo-Saxon the construction is practically not found. I refer to sentences such as: I knew, or thought, etc., him to be at home. And yet there is reason to believe the construction to have been indigenous in the Germanic languages because clear instances of it are found rather frequently in Gothic and Old Norse and occasionally in all the other older dialects, differing to some degree with different authors. It is well to bear in mind, however, that in the older dialects literary tradition was established by men who were trained in Latin, and though we must admit the construction as native, it is fair to surmise that it was, under Latin influence, used beyond its original scope. In Ohg. some authors, notably Notker, use it quite freely, others sparingly; in Mhg. instances are few. But the Humanists, again under Latin influence, of course, revive and extend its use, and its new artificial life lasted into the eighteenth century. It may now be said to be extinct in German, except in connection with the verbs mentioned: *lehren, heißen, lassen* and *machen*. With *sehen, hören, wissen, finden, fühlen*, and *haben*, an accusative and an infinitive are similarly used. But in connection with a number of them the infinitive is not free from the suspicion of being a mutilated present participle, such as we found it to be in the paradigm of the future with *werden*.

Only with *sehen*, *hören*, *finden* the infinitive is so old that in this case participial origin seems less probable. Surely a mutilated present participle we have in the infinitive with *haben* in such sentences as this: *Er hat die Brille auf der Nase sitzen*.

d. *Infinitive Supplanting the Present Participle*. With a number of verbs which now take an infinitive, a present participle was formerly used. *Werden* was mentioned as one of them in another connection. *Bleiben* can be similarly construed with certain verbs only, all of them denoting continuance in a given place: *ich bleibe liegen, kleben, stecken, haften, hängen, stehen, sitzen*. With *gehen, fahren*, and *reiten*, on the other hand, only verbs in themselves involving motion are used in the simple infinitive: *ich gehe, reite, fahre: betteln. Ich gehe reiten; ich fahre, reite spazieren*. In all these cases we have to do with present participles originally. Also with *legen*, in *ich will mich schlafen legen*.

e. *Present Participle for the Infinitive*. From the infinitive denoting necessity (§ 350) developed the similar use of the present participle in attributive position: *die Geschichte ist nicht zu glauben: die nicht zu glaubende Geschichte*. See § 365.

2. The Infinitive with *zu*

§ 348. **Meaning**. It is impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between the simple infinitive and the one with *zu* even in the earliest Germanic monuments, in Gothic. And the distinction grows constantly less clear, the prepositional infinitive steadily gaining ground at the same time. This is the case in English as well as in Ger-

man. Down to the sixteenth century the simple infinitive was quite common in English with not a few verbs. To-day it is confined, in striking agreement with German, to the following verbs: may, do, can, must, shall, will, dare, let, bid, see, hear, feel, need, make, have. In so far as any difference is observable, the connection between the simple infinitive and the governing verb seems somewhat closer. In Gothic the prepositional infinitive often denotes more clearly purpose, sometimes also result. Possibly the difference was somewhat the same as that existing now between the infinitive with *zu*, and that with *um zu*; or the simple infinitive, in some constructions, and the one with *zu* or *um zu*: *ich gehe hin euch die Stätte bereiten*, or *euch die Stätte zu bereiten*. Again, *ich hoffe glücklich zu werden*: *ich hoffe, um glücklich zu werden*. When in New High German the infinitive with *zu* had practically replaced the simple form, the new form with *um zu* made it possible to keep up the old distinction. After nouns and adjectives in particular the form with *zu* came in very early and readily: *es ist nie zu spät, Gutes zu tun*. *Die Zeit, sie mild zu behandeln, ist vorüber*. Also after impersonal verbs the infinitive with *zu* is prominent very early: *es gelingt ihm, sich zu befreien, es scheint zu regnen*.

§ 349. *Zu, um zu.* *a.* In the function of denoting purpose the infinitive with *um zu* has, in Nhg. times, infringed upon the territory of the infinitive with *zu*. But here also sharp lines cannot be drawn. While *um zu* denotes purpose almost exclusively (Lessing's *Nathan*, I, 5, ll. 645-649, and Schiller's *Tell*, 466, offer two rare instances of an infinitive with *um zu* denoting result), *zu* also is still used with this function, particularly after verbs

whose meaning makes us expect an infinitive complement, as *senden*, *kommen* and other verbs of motion: *er geht hin, die neue Anlage zu besichtigen: er kommt in die Stadt, den Arzt zu sprechen*. Verbs that really call for an infinitive complement, as *fordern*, *verlangen*, *beabsichtigen*, *vorhaben* and others, never take an infinitive with *um zu*. Here the infinitive is the object of the verb. Rarely has the construction with *zu* quite the same connotation as the one with *um zu*, the difference being very similar to that between the English *to* and *in order to*: the one seems to be governed by the verb directly, the other indirectly: he works to help us, *er arbeitet, uns zu helfen*, he works, in order to help us: *er arbeitet, um uns zu helfen*. Or still more clearly bringing out the contrast: he strives, or hastens to help us: *er strebt*, or *eilt uns zu helfen*, and he strives, or hastens in order to help us: *er eilt* or *strebt, um uns zu helfen*. The action expressed in the purpose clause with *um zu*, if carried out, follows the action of the main verb: 'he came to destroy the city' easily acquired the meaning: he came and destroyed the city, denoting merely succession in time. This has taken place in German also: *Er wurde mit großen Erwartungen in sein Amt eingeführt, um im ersten Monat zu sterben*.

b. The origin of the *um zu* with the infinitive is not quite clear. But the fact that it is confined to infinitives denoting purpose is suggestive. The preposition *um* has long been used with an accusative to denote price, remuneration, etc., sharing this field with *für* and *gegen*: *Ich kaufe das Haus um* or *für sechs tausend Taler*. *Ich arbeite um* or *für Lohn*. *Ich tausche um, für* or *gegen ein Pferd*. Often the same idea could be expressed either by an in-

finitive and *zu* denoting purpose, or by means of *um* and a noun: *Ich arbeite, Geld zu verdienen: ich arbeite um Geld.* The new construction: *Ich arbeite, um Geld zu verdienen* is probably the result of a confusion of the two constructions. The old simple infinitive being practically obsolete, the new device, making it possible to revive an old distinction which was on the verge of being obliterated, found the more ready acceptance and soon spread clear beyond its original scope.

c. A word may also be said as to the possible origin of the infinitive with *zu*. The preposition in itself ordinarily denotes local direction, — toward, just as the English *to*. Particularly after verbs of motion the idea of 'direction toward' could easily change to that of aim, which was denoted by the infinitive-noun: *Ich gehe in den Garten zu Graben* (a noun), became more and more isolated from such a sentence as: *ich gehe in den Garten zu den Blumen*, as the infinitive moved away from the noun and toward the verb. In Low German we say to this day: *ick ga in de tûn to Blömen-plücken: ich gehe in den Garten zu Blumen-pflücken.* Yet this construction has quite as distinctly the force of a purpose phrase as the corresponding purpose infinitives in German and English.

§ 350. **Infinitive Denoting Necessity.** The infinitive with *zu* used with *haben* and *sein* often denotes necessity or obligation, or propriety, again quite similar to English usage: I have to finish before night: *ich habe dies vor Abend zu beenden.* The Latin *habeo* is similarly used with the infinitive, and inasmuch as the construction does not seem to be indigenous, Latin origin does not seem impossible. In English we use with *to be* only the passive infinitive; in

German the present, so-called active infinitive often with plainly passive meaning: *Das Haus ist zu verkaufen*: the house is to be sold. The English usage might give a suggestion as to the development of this use of the infinitive with *to be*, and *sein*. 'The house is to be sold' stands in precisely the same relation to: 'I have to sell the house,' as 'The house is sold' stands to 'I have sold the house.' Similarly the German: *Ich habe das Haus zu verkaufen*: *ich habe das Haus verkauft*: *das Haus ist verkauft*: *das Haus ist zu verkaufen*. Like *sein* also *bleiben*, *stehen* and occasionally a few other verbs are used with the infinitive, denoting the necessity, possibility or fitness of an action: *Es steht zu hoffen*, *zu erwarten*: *es bleibt abzuwarten*, *es bleibt zu tun*. But *stehen* and *bleiben* are in this use almost confined to the few infinitives here quoted. They are rarely used with any others.

§ 351. **The Infinitive with *zu* as a Noun.** Also the infinitive with *zu* can be used in substantive function, but it never loses its verbal force quite so completely as the simple infinitive in similar constructions; cp.: *Wissen ist Macht*: *zu wissen ist Macht*. And also infinitives with *zu* retain sometimes less, sometimes more of their verbal quality: more, for instance, if an object is expressed, or if a subject can be readily supplied, if the action expressed in them can be put in relation to some definite agent; less, if this is not the case; cp.: *Wittwen und Waisen in ihrer Trübsal zu besuchen ist allgemeine Christenpflicht*: but: *Es ist vor allem die Pflicht des Seelsorgers, die Wittwen und Waisen in ihrer Trübsal zu besuchen*.

§ 352. **Ohne, anstatt . . . zu.** The simple infinitive could formerly be freely connected with various preposi-

tions. We now feel such infinitives as nouns: *mit Zittern und Zagen, durch Fasten und Weinen*, etc. Only the prepositions *ohne* and *anstatt* can be followed by an infinitive with *zu*: *ohne zu zaudern, anstatt zu weinen*.

§ 353. **When to use an Infinitive, when a Dependent Clause.** (See Wilmanns, III, p. 132.) A conclusive answer cannot be given to this question, because after some verbs either construction is permissible. But a few observations are not out of place.

a. The infinitive *can* be used, only if its subject can be readily inferred from the main clause, in which it may occur as subject or as an object; or if the subject is so general that it is readily inferred, and from the main clause it is plain that its subject cannot also be that of the infinitive. Cp.: *Ich glaubte, willkommen zu sein. Ich bat ihn, mir zu helfen: but ich versprach ihm, zu kommen. Es ist Pflicht, dem Nächsten beizustehen.*

b. The infinitive, with *zu* (or the simple infinitive after the modals), not with *um zu*, *must* be used with verbs of such a nature that their subject must necessarily also be the subject of the infinitive. Of the modals *mögen, können, sollen, dürfen, müssen*, belong here. Instances of other verbs, enumerated by Wilmanns, are *anfangen, beginnen, aufhören, vermögen, pflegen, geruhen, wagen, suchen, versuchen, sich bemühen, unterlassen, sich weigern, sich scheuen, sich getrauen*, and the personal *scheinen*: *er scheint zu glauben* (but *es scheint, regnen zu wollen, or als ob es*, etc.).

c. Other verbs are of such a nature that the infinitive depending on them may have the same subject as they, or a different one: *Hans hofft, fertig zu werden: Hans hofft, daß sein Bruder fertig werde*. Such verbs are, besides

hoffen, glauben, wännen, sich einbilden, fürchten, sich freuen; also a number of combinations with *sein*: *ich bin dafür, dagegen, bin der Hoffnung, habe die Zuversicht*, and a number of others. If the subject of the dependent clause or infinitive is the same as that of the governing verb we may have either an infinitive or a clause: *ich hoffe fertig zu werden*, or *ich hoffe, daß ich vor morgen fertig werde*. If the subject of the dependent clause or phrase is different we can have a clause only: *Hans hofft, daß sein Bruder noch vor abend fertig werde*. However, an infinitive may also be used, if its subject would be the same as an accusative or dative depending on the main verb; after the following verbs: *er befahl ihm, sich bereit zu halten: gebieten, verbieten, wehren, verhindern, erlauben, gestatten, gewähren, raten, vorschlagen, bitten, anflehen, ermahnen, nötigen, zwingen, beeinflussen* and probably some other verbs of similar meaning and construction. But with all these verbs, a *daß*-clause is also possible.

d. With some verbs either an infinitive or a *daß*-clause may be used, but there is a difference in meaning. Cp.: *Er weiß nicht Maß zu halten* = *er weiß nicht, daß er Maß halten sollte*. Similarly: *Er vergaß, mir zu danken* = *er vergaß, daß er mir hätte danken sollen*. In these instances the infinitive seems to express some moral obligation, at least a sort of emotional relation to the subject of the main verb, we might say. This element is sometimes probably less contained in the infinitive as such, than in its content: *Dank, Maßhalten*, 'gratitude,' 'moderation,' are universally recognized moral obligations: cp.: *Er weiß Maß zu halten* = *er weiß, daß er Maß hält, or halten muß*. But a trace of the emotional element, which is always prominent

in the regular purpose infinitive, is present also in many other infinitive phrases, though it is often not easy to define it. This appears also when, in comparing the meaning of a number of verbs or words of saying, we find that those without any appreciable emotional coloring govern a *daß*-clause, while the others at least allow an infinitive construction, and often seem to call for it.' To the first group belong: *sagen, mittheilen, melden, berichten, erzählen, verkünden, ankündigen* (but in the sense of threatening also construed with the infinitive), *Auskunft geben, benachrichtigen* and others; an emotional element, because of which the infinitive seems to be preferred or allowed, we find in *behaupten, versichern, beteuern, leugnen, bekennen, zugeben, gestehen, versprechen, verheißen, geloben, schwören*. On this ground one should expect to find the infinitive more commonly after the first person singular of the present, than after the third person, and after the past, and this seems to be the case, though no statistics are available. Similarly we should also expect something to depend on the content of the dependent infinitive, and this too seems to be the case. Thus we should probably say: *Ich glaube gehorchen zu müssen*, but: *Ich glaube, daß ich kommen kann*. But really no working rule can be given.

e. *Um zu, ohne zu, anstatt zu*, can always be supplanted by finite clauses, *um zu* by a clause with *damit, daß* (or *auf daß*, antiquated), *ohne zu*, by *ohne daß, anstatt zu* by *anstatt* or *statt daß*. After a *zu* with an adjective in the main clause we use *als daß* instead of *um zu* if the subject of the infinitive is different from that of the main verb: *du bist zu groß, als daß man dich noch tragen sollte*.

§ 354. **Infinitive and Participle.** How the infinitive form displaced the present participle in the formation of the future with *werden*, and also after *bleiben*, and some other verbs, was shown in other connections (§§ 299, 347, d).

Occasions on which the perfect participle assumes the form of the infinitive were mentioned in § 315.

§ 355. **Passive Infinitive.** The simple infinitive, with or without *zu*, has now regularly active meaning; remnants of older usage, according to which the present infinitive could also be passive, were recorded in § 286, and it was also stated that the only live, productive, passive infinitive to-day is the one formed with *werden*: *geschlagen werden*. In set phrases *sein* is sometimes connected with a participle to form a passive infinitive: *Die Sache will wohl überlegt sein*.

§ 356. **Tenses of the Infinitive.** The so-called present infinitive, of the active voice, denotes an action as incomplete, as going on. But it has really no tense. The time of the action denoted in it is determined altogether from the context: *Er glaubte, er glaubt, er wird glauben, übers Jahr fertig zu sein*. In every one of these cases the infinitive is put into the future by the adverbial *übers Jahr*. *Er glaubt, fertig zu sein*, is equivalent to, 'He thinks he is (now) ready.' *Er glaubte, fertig zu sein*, means, 'He thought, he was (at the time he "thought") ready.' *Er wird glauben, fertig zu sein*, unless used in potential sense, means, 'He will think, that he is ready (some time to come).'

We have, besides, a present passive infinitive, e.g., *gelobt (zu) werden*, to which applies, as to tense significance, what was just stated of the corresponding active infinitive. For

the perfect we have a compound infinitive, with *haben* or *sein*, as the case may be, in the active, with *sein* or *worden sein* for the passive. The perfect infinitive denotes an accomplished action, or a state resulting therefrom, relative to the tense expressed in the main verb, or at a time to be inferred from the context: *er glaubt, übers Jahr vollendet zu haben*, etc.

2. The Participles

§ 357. **Nature of the Participles.** The farther we go back in the history of the Germanic languages, the more uniformly does the participle, both of the past and of the present, show adjectival character. But being derivatives from verbs, they probably never in any language lost all connection with the verb in function, and as in Greek, Latin, and other Idg. languages, so also in the Germanic dialects they form a part of speech midway between the adjective and the verb. In English the present as well as the past participle are regularly used in the formation of our compound tense forms. In German this function is practically confined to the past participle. But to this day both participles relapse with equal readiness into the category of the adjective. Hardly a vestige of the verbal nature is left in the participles of the following combinations: a charming woman, a renowned author, a distinguished orator, a striking beauty, belated justice, and many others; similar instances are quite as common in German as well as in other languages. Indeed some words are no longer recognized as participles at all, though they have the form of them, cp. English *drunk*, *forlorn*, *confused*, *exalted*, *blessed*, and German, *bescheiden*, *gediegen*,

verwünscht, verdammt, verrucht, besonnen, begeistert, beschämt, erfahren, entzückt, erhaben, gelungen, gelehrt, geschickt, gewandt, gewogen, verlegen, verwegen, verschwiegen, verstorben, vollkommen and others.

When in its function the participle approaches the verb it has tense and voice (cp. § 287).

§ 358. **Tense of the Participle.** It is an erroneous notion, probably due to the misleading character of the name, to think that the present participle denotes present action; cp.: He came whistling into the house; *er kam pfeifend ins Haus*; the whistling *is* not going on, but *was* going on as he came into the house. The present participle denotes an action going on, usually contemporaneous with the action expressed in the main verb, but not infrequently also relatively past or future to it. We should make no objection to the following use of the participles in English: Locking the door, go into your house and hide. But the locking is later than the going, and previous to the hiding. Strictly speaking the participle has no tense of its own. The past participle ordinarily denotes that an action is completed, or was, or will be completed, depending on the meaning of the main verb, cp.: *Er kommt, er kam völlig ermüdet nach Hause; er wird ermüdet nach Hause kommen.* The present participle ordinarily differs from an adjective in that it confines the quality to the time implied in the main verb while the adjective denotes lasting qualities, cp. *der arbeitende Knabe: der arbeitsame Knabe*; a rolling stone gathers no moss; a swaying wall: an unstable wall. Yet many present participles, in English as well as in German, lose all temporal limitation and can barely be distinguished from adjectives except as to form: *ein-*

leuchtende Gründe, convincing proof; *ansprechende Hypothese*: attractive hypothesis. In many instances the participle of one language is quite equivalent to an adjective in the other; cp.: *abstoßend*: repulsive, *abwesend*: absent (really an old participial stem), *anhaltend*: continuous, *anmaßend*: presumptuous, *anziehend*: attractive, *auffallend*: striking, *ausnehmend*: exceptional, *bedeutend*: important, *passend*: fitting, *bevorstehend*: impending, *reizend*: charming, *rasend*: mad, *rührend*: touching, and others.

Use of the Participles

a. The Present Participle

§ 359. Difference between English and German.

There is one striking difference between the use of the present participle in German and that in English: whenever the present participle has a prominently verbal significance it is not used as a predicate. We cannot say, for, I am writing a letter: *Ich bin einen Brief schreibend*, but: *Ich schreibe einen Brief*. Only when the participle is felt rather as an adjective can it be connected with the copula in the predicate: *Die Sache ist dringend*: the matter is urgent. *Der Mann ist leidend*, the man is ailing. *Die Landschaft ist reizend*: the scene is charming. In the older stages of the language the present participle was occasionally used to form a tense with some copula, particularly with *werden* and *bleiben*, both of them then inchoative. With *werden* this usage developed into our future, as we saw in § 299.

§ 360. **Attributive Participle.** The present participle, inflected like any adjective, is also used as an adjective in

attributive function; — in the predicate only as just mentioned. Adverbial modifiers or objects of the participle stand between the article and the noun with which the participle is connected: *ein am Abhange liegendes Dorf; eine ihre Mutter vergessende Tochter.*

§ 361. **Equivalent to a Clause.** When the participle, both present and past, follows the noun with which it is connected or is in some other way taken out of its ordinary attributive position, it usually has a good deal of independence and is often equivalent to a dependent clause: *Vater und Mutter verlassend, zog er in die Fremde.* Regularly the subject of the main verb must be also the subject of the participle. We can, in German, use the participial phrase only as an appositive of the main subject, when it is usually equivalent to an adverbial clause of manner, which sometimes also closely approaches causal meaning: *Das heraufziehende Gewitter fürchtend, kehrten wir bei Freunden ein. Dies bei mir denkend, schlief ich ein.* We have no parallel to the English: “Mother being dead, I found no pleasure at home.” In general this participial construction is much more common in English than in German, where its place is usually taken by some adverbial clause. Writers on scientific subjects seem to be more fond of it than poets and novelists.

§ 362. **English Participle Noun or Adjective.** Our present participle in English, with its ending -ing was originally a verbal noun, and vestiges of its earlier function can still be seen in certain uses of it. Thus it is preceded by a preposition, mutilated to be sure, in a number of phrases: the house is a-building, the train is a-coming, i.e., the house is ‘in building,’ the train ‘in coming,’

a - coming = in + coming; similarly: father's gone a-hunting. Just how this noun developed into a participle has, to my knowledge, not yet been explained. It might well have come about through compounds, in which the first part might be taken either for a noun or a participle: 'working-clothes' would probably be felt by all as a compound of two nouns, but how about 'working-man'? In many constructions the substantive character of the verbal in -ing is still quite apparent and these forms, often erroneously taken for present participles, have to be rendered in German in various ways, through finite verbs, verbal nouns, etc. Cp. the English: Seeing is believing with the German: *zu sehen heißt zu glauben* but also: *Probieren geht über Studieren*.

§ 363. **Participles as Nouns.** Like any adjective, the present participle also can be used substantively, and denotes the agent of the action expressed in it: *Die Abreisenden* = those leaving; *die Ankommenden*, those arriving, etc. Many of these participles have become really nouns, but retain their adjectival declension: *der Reisende*, *ein Reisender* = a traveling salesman; *der Vorsitzende*, *ein Vorsitzender*, *eine Vorsitzende*, the chairman; *die Umstehenden*, the bystanders; *der Leidtragende*, the mourner; *das Beschämende*, *das Überraschende*, etc.

§ 364. **Voice of the Participle.** The present participle has regularly active force. It seems as if in earlier periods of the Germanic languages it could also be passive, and remnants of this usage were mentioned in § 287. If Goethe says: *die in der Hand habende kleine Orgel*, for: *die in der Hand gehaltene kleine Orgel*, not only pedants would say that such usage is not to be sanctioned.

§ 365. **Participle Denoting Necessity.** The present participle with *zu* has the force of a gerund, denoting necessity or obligation or possibility: *das zu lesende Buch*. It is thus used attributively only. In the predicate, *zu* with the infinitive is the corresponding construction: *Das Buch ist zu lesen*. This use of the present participle is not of late origin, but is occasionally found even in Ohg., and here predicatively as well as attributively. This may give us a clue as to the origin of the construction. In Old and Middle High German the infinitive after *zu* was regularly inflected: *ze sehenne: zu sehen; ze liebenne: zu lieben*. Side by side with these forms we find *ze sehende, ze liebende*, possibly under the influence of the *d* in the corresponding Latin gerundive: *nuntianda est = ze chundande ist*; at any rate the form with *d* was not infrequently used. When the infinitive regularly lost its inflection, in the dative after *zu* as well as in the genitive, it could not very well be used attributively. The form with *d*, being that of the participle, still capable of inflection, came therefore into vogue in attributive position while the uninflected infinitive continued to be used in the predicate."

b. The Perfect Participle

§ 366. **Modality in the Participles.** While the present participle of all verbs denotes an action as going on, and is therefore durative, of the perfect participles some are perfective (egressive), others show no modality, viz., those of intransitive verbs conjugated with *haben*. Distinctly retaining verbal function, these denote more clearly that an action has been completed, and can be used only

in the formation of the compound tenses, perfect and pluperfect with *haben*. They cannot be used in adjective function, attributively. We cannot say: *der gelaufene Hund, der geblühte Baum*. But as we say: *Der Hund ist entlaufen, das Mädchen ist verblüht*, so we can say also: *der entlaufene Hund, das verblühte Mädchen*. *Entlaufen* and *verblühen*, as almost all intransitive verbs conjugated with *sein* and all the passive perfect participles of transitive verbs, are perfective and have on that account a decided leaning toward the adjective, denoting often rather an existing state than a past action. Indeed, not a few of these participles, though retaining their participial form, have become adjectives almost exclusively. Such are *besonnen, angesehen, begeistert, beruhigt, beschämt, erfahren, entzückt, erhaben, gelungen, gelehrt, geschickt, gewandt, gewogen, verlegen, verwegen, verschwiegen, vollkommen*, and others. Some of these participles are from reflexive verbs. Just a few participles of intransitive verbs conjugated with *haben* are similarly used as adjectives: *der gediente Soldat, gelernter Schneider, studierter Arzt*.

§ 367. Tense and Voice of the Perfect Participle.

a. *Tense*. The perfect participle denotes an action as completed. Often it is not completed prior to the tense of the verb in the sentence, but only at the time of speaking. Thus, *mein verstorbener Vater war lange krank* — evidently sick before he died. Similar combinations, though not altogether logical, are very common both in English and German.

b. *Voice of the Perfect Participle*. See § 287, I.

II. THE NOUN. — ITS CASES

§ 368. **General Statement.** We distinguish in the noun gender and number as well as case. But as a syntactic element case distinction only needs to be considered.

§ 369. **Origin and Development of the Cases.** We like to believe that originally every case must have had one definite meaning. We are quite convinced, however, from the ordinary processes of language development which are accessible to our investigation or observation, that men do not *invent* forms to express distinctions, but rather new distinctions gradually become attached to forms already existing either for some purpose or as a result of phonetic development. It would therefore seem more logical to think that the differences of form which we now call cases signified distinctions of meaning much less definite in the earliest stages than later. That the case endings as found even in the oldest accessible periods were not purposely made to serve the ends for which they were finally used, is probable for the reason that the same case is made by different endings in various classes of nouns, and differs in form particularly if we compare nouns and pronouns. Quite probably, the complete case system as we find it in the various members of the Indo-Germanic family is the result of an age-long development. The origin of the cases is shrouded in impenetrable mystery; at any rate, the attempts to throw some light into these remote recesses of the Indo-Germanic mother language have so far not been very successful.

Even the stage which the cases had reached in their functional development when the various Indo-Germanic languages branched off cannot be determined with any assurance. Nor is it at all probable that the different languages ever quite agreed as to the functions of any case. The Indo-Germanic mother tongue probably had eight cases, still preserved in Sanskrit: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental, ablative, and locative. The classic Greek had but the first four, Latin has an ablative and a vocative, while in the older Germanic dialects, besides the first four cases, remnants also of an instrumental are found. Plainly, the different languages must have employed different cases to serve in the same function; in Greek, the functions of the instrumental and the ablative are performed partly by the genitive, partly by the dative; in Latin, the ablative does service for the instrumental also. Similarly in German, our four cases are made to do for the eight original ones. In English we can really not speak of cases at all, except for the pronouns. For the noun, no one not versed in foreign inflected languages or in the history of English itself, would probably have thought of cases, unless it be by analogy with the pronoun.

What caused the various cases to coalesce, we cannot know with certainty. Phonetic development, which is, in this instance, obliteration of distinct case endings, probably goes far in explaining the existing state of things in English and in German. Besides another factor must be considered. We can to this day express very nearly the same idea in different ways: *Ich schicke dem Vater das Buch: ich schicke das Buch an den Vater. I*

know this by or *from sad experience*, in which case *by* would represent the old instrumental, *from* the old ablative. Can it surprise us if in Latin the ablative assumed also the functions of the instrumental? Or, to mention another example from the English language, is it surprising if people say, *me and him went down to the river yesterday*, when they say, *It is me*? Not long ago the latter use of *me* was as much a sign of illiteracy as the former. That our “you” is an old dative which even in Anglo-Saxon times began to do service for the accusative also, was mentioned in another connection. And as here in English, so in Flemish and Low German, the accusative has in many cases usurped the place of the nominative, while in some South German dialects the nominative form has taken the place of the accusative, of which numerous instances are found in the Allemannian poet Hebel. In the Low German dialects, moreover, the dative and accusative are not distinguished, just as is the case in our English pronouns.

I. The Nominative

§ 370. **Nominative and Oblique Cases.** Of the four cases which we now have in German, the Nominative is conceived as not in any way “dependent” and was therefore called “casus rectus,” or *πτῶσις ὀρθή* by the Alexandrian grammarian Dionysius Thrax. The other cases regularly depend on some verb, noun, adjective, adverb, or preposition, and are in contrast called “Oblique Cases,” “casus obliqui.” It is hardly necessary to say that the notion is erroneous. “Independent cases” we find in the dictionary, in catalogues of nouns, never in

connected speech. But the term 'oblique cases,' meaning in German the genitive, dative, and accusative, continues in vogue and is convenient. For us the nominative is the shortest form, and we regard it as the standard form of the noun (or pronoun, etc.). But in Gothic and a number of other Indo-Germanic languages, as Greek and Latin, it has various distinct endings, which might suggest that the consciousness of the respective speech communities did not feel it as "independent." How it got its endings we do not know, nor what they may have meant originally.

a. The Subject Nominative

§ 371. **Nominative, the Case of the Subject, and Apparent Exceptions.** The ordinary sentence as we defined it in § 263 may be considered as consisting of a subject and a predicate. But it is well to remember that any division is arbitrary. The sentence is a unit; it cannot be divided without being destroyed. It consists of subject and predicate as man consists of head and body. Both the subject and the predicate may be simple or consist of various parts. The subject is always a noun or something serving in the function of a noun, for instance, some other part of speech, as "*Yellow*" is the name of a color, or various word combinations as: *To err is but human; to forgive, divine.* The noun or pronoun subject is in the nominative case.

A few isolated, stereotyped phrases are but apparent exceptions, wholly conforming to the regular order in an older stage. The most common one, if not the only one, is: *Da ist meines Bleibens nicht.* *Nicht*, now classed

as an adverb, used to be a substantive governing a partitive Genitive which we have left in *Bleibens*. But that the popular consciousness considered this Genitive as the real subject, appears from several variations in which the genitive cannot possibly be explained as a partitive genitive: *Da ist meines Bleibens kaum*, or *nicht lange*, or *da war meines Bleibens nur einige Tage*.

A different explanation is needed for another genitive subject, no longer felt as a genitive in English: *Schulzes sind nicht zu Hause*: The Browns are not at home. But also in German, as earlier in English, this genitive easily turns into a nominative plural: *Die Schulzes sind nicht zu Hause*: The Browns are not at home. The original genitive is due to an ellipsis: *Schulzes Leute sind nicht zu Hause*.

Equivalent to a partitive genitive are some prepositional phrases apparently used as the subject: *Von dem Brot ist nicht mehr da*, just as *von dem Brot ist wenig mehr da*. Notice that in English the apparent adverb *nicht* is translated by the pronominal 'nothing': Of the bread nothing is left.

§ 372. **The Pronoun *es* in Place of the Subject.** Somewhat surprising, yet common to both English and German and other languages, is the use of a neuter pronoun, *es* or *das*, it or that, in such sentences as: *Er ist es*: It is he; *es ist eine Frau*: it is a woman. Possibly this odd custom of referring with a neuter pronoun to masculines or feminines may have arisen from questions, the questioner not knowing whether he was addressing a man or a woman: *Wer ist das?* The neuter was regularly used to refer to either gender.

Es as an expletive, corresponding to our English *there*,

was mentioned in connection with the treatment of word order. It is in this function most nearly related to the so-called anticipatory *es*: *Es freut mich, daß du mich verstehst*, in which case the *daß*-clause is the real subject. Originally the real subject was in apposition with *es*, as it still is in the following sentence: *Es schmerzt mich, das Auge*. *Es* was generalized in this usage rather than either the masculine or feminine form, possibly because the neuter pronoun would have in apposition with it not only neuter nouns, but also clauses and phrases representing the subject, and was therefore quite common in the initial position. Yet it has become an expletive only if the subject is a noun or an indefinite pronoun: *Es kommt ein Mann, jemand, niemand, nichts, etwas, wenig*, etc. With personal pronouns or sentences as subject it cannot be used. We should hardly say: *Es waren wir da*.

Finally, it may be mentioned also, that *es* is regularly used with impersonal verbs, of which the German has a somewhat larger number than the English. But only with words denoting natural phenomena must *es* always be used: *Es donnert, regnet, friert, blitzt, schneit, taut, dämmt, dunkelt*, and a few others; also *dann donnerte es*, etc. However: *Es friert mich, es jammert mich des Volks*, etc., against: *Mich friert, mich jammert des Volks*; also in interrogative sentences with these and similar verbs the *es* is omitted: *Friert dich? Jammert ihn des Volks?*

§ 373. **Omission of the Subject.** In the older stages of the Germanic languages the pronominal subject, particularly of the second and third persons, but also of the first, was quite frequently omitted. As a rule, every

sentence has now a subject, except imperatives of the second singular and plural: *Geh nach Hause; Geht nach Hause*. If it is omitted in other cases, we feel an ellipsis, though such omission is not altogether infrequent in poetry and for apparently a very foolish reason in letters. It seems to be considered polite not to begin a letter with the pronoun *ich*; and if the difficulty cannot be circumvented in some other way, *ich* is simply omitted: *Habe gestern Ihren Brief erhalten*. Attention might be called to a similar rule of etiquette in English, which requires one, for the sake of humility, to say rather *you and I* than *I and you*.

b. The Predicate Nominative

§ 374. **The So-called Copula.** It is hardly in place to speak in this connection of what constitutes the predicate. It is a common notion that a predicate noun is always in the nominative and to be found, first and foremost, after *sein*, 'to be,' and then also after such verbs as *werden*, *scheinen*, *heißen*, *dünken*, *bleiben*, *stehen*, and a few others; as: *Der Wald steht schwarz und schweiget*, or the English: *He stands silent and condemned*. Other cases in the predicate are commonly called adverbial, or in some instances appositional. It was shown, however, in the discussion on word order that for the speech consciousness a lot of other combinations of all kinds have the value of finite verbs with complete meaning, as: *Er macht Einkäufe* = *er kauft ein*, English, *He is making a visit: he is visiting*. And if we want to call *sein* and similar verbs copulative when they are in themselves insufficient to constitute the predicate, it would seem

reasonable to apply the same name to a lot of other verbs also, which are similarly limited, in many sentences at least. While it is here not intended to recommend the practice, it is well enough to notice once more how often our grammatical procedure and terminology misrepresent the real linguistic processes. Alone the consideration of how the perfect tense with *haben* arose, alongside of that with *sein*, ought to have been sufficient to check the practice of singling out *sein* as the copulative verb *par excellence*. For *sein* with the perfect participle of a perfective verb is no less a copula than it is with an adjective; and *haben*, used in an exactly parallel way, ought not to be anything else.

§ 375. **Predicate Nominative in Apposition with the Subject?** It is conceivable, and it has been claimed, that the ordinary predicate nominative after *sein*, *heißen*, etc., was originally simply in apposition with the subject, something like the words *friend* and *reproach* in the following sentence: *Thus he lives, a friend to the poor, a reproach to the rich*. The copula and the other verbs approaching it are supposed to have been verbs of complete predication, just as other verbs, as: *He smokes, he swims*, etc. In the above sentence we might, with a little license, still use *is*: *Thus he does not only seem, but is — a friend to the poor*, etc. From this appositional use of the predicate nominative a similar use of the accusative after *nennen* and *heißen* (transitive) and some other verbs of similar meaning, to be mentioned later, might have arisen: *Ihr nennt ihn einen König*.

But in all Indo-Germanic languages, at least in all Germanic languages as well as in Greek and Latin, we

find sentences without any copulative verb. In Nhg. and in English they have now a sort of epigrammatic connotation, and are of more frequent occurrence than in Ohg. Cp.: *Ein junger Lügner, ein alter Dieb. Gelehrte, Verkehrte. Würde, Bürde. Gefangener Mann, ein armer Mann. Er ein Verräter! Sie das stärkere Geschlecht? Lumpenhunde die Reiter.* English: *His disciple a traitor. The king a fugitive.* If we should call such combinations sentences, which seems reasonable enough, they would be comparable to other combinations in which an infinitive takes the place of a finite verb: *Er Rat annehmen! Der König um Verzeihung bitten!* etc. In either case the predication is clear enough, only the formal connection between subject and predicate is not distinctly indicated. It is idle to reflect too much upon a stage of language inaccessible to actual investigation. Yet quite as conceivable as the idea that the predicate nominative was in its origin anything like what we now call a word in apposition, seems to be the suggestion that originally mere juxtaposition of two nouns or of a noun and an adjective (*Der Kaiser, der Kaiser gefangen!*) was sufficient to establish their relation as subject and predicate. Since in sentences with verbs of complete predication it was the rule to indicate by endings the formal relation between the subject and the verbal predicate, it was felt necessary, similarly to express the same relation between the subject and its nominal predicate. Appositional constructions, for some reason faded out, may have constituted the bridge; for to this day not all words in apposition have an equal degree of independence. Cp., with and without the comma, *He returns, a healed man; he returns,*

the hero of his generation. And when the use of the copula or some similar word, now of incomplete predication, became the rule in sentences with a nominal predicate, the older form without the copula gradually acquired the epigrammatic meaning now prominent in it. It is well to observe that many more verbs than are ordinarily put down as auxiliaries might with a good deal of justice be said to belong to that class, depending on the connection in which they are used. Thus we say: *He spoke wearily*, but: *he sat weary by the well; he returned safely*, with the adverbial form by order of the school-master, but, in spite of him: *he returned safe and sound.* *Sat* and *returned* in these sentences are much nearer to the class of auxiliaries than *spoke*.

§ 376. **Verbs with the Predicate Nominative.** a. *sein* and *werden*. The most common of all verbs to be connected with a predicate nominative are *sein* and *werden*. Instances with *sein* are so numerous and common that none need be quoted at all. *Werden* had in Gothic usually the value of a future of *sein*. It is not far from that meaning now when used in the present with nouns: *Er wird Lehrer, er wird übers Jahr Präsident.* But for us it is chiefly inchoative, denoting the beginning of the character or state expressed in the predicate noun or adjective.

b. *bleiben*. Similarly, *bleiben* is used with the nominative, denoting continuance: *Er bleibt mein Freund.*

c. *heißen*: *er heißt ein guter Hirte.* *Heißen* is also used transitively and then regularly takes an accusative in the predicate. But in all stages of the language the nominative has also been found after the transitive

heißen. Wolfram has: *den man da hiez der ritter rôt*. In Old and Middle High German instances of this kind occur rather frequently. Modern German, possibly due to Latin influence, prescribes the accusative, except where a noun is used without the article or any other modifier: *Ich heiße (nenne) ihn Herr, Fürst, Graf*, but *meinen Herrn, einen gnädigen Fürsten, einen anmaßenden Grafen*.

d. *scheinen*: *Wir scheinen recht beglückte Schäferinnen. Er wird ein großer Prinz bis an sein Ende scheinen*. The compound *erscheinen* is rarely used thus: *Halb Wurm erschien's, halb Molch und Drache* (Schiller).

e. *dünken*, in Old and Middle High German construed as we construe it now, was in early Nhg. quite commonly followed by a simple infinitive without *zu*. Luther has: *Alle Züchtigung dünkt uns nicht Freude, sondern Traurigkeit sein. Ich dünkte mich damals keine Saue sein* (Simplicissimus). The infinitive disappeared in the eighteenth century. *Es dünkt mich ein weit unverzeihlicherer Fehler* (Lessing). *Ja, sie dünken sich Ordner des Hauses* (Voss).

§ 377. **Predicate Nominative with Passives Denoting Naming, Calling.** Transitive verbs, particularly those denoting naming, calling, but also others construed with a predicate accusative, take a corresponding predicate nominative when used in the passive: *Ich nenne ihn einen guten Herrn: er wird ein guter Herr genannt*. Similarly we use the passive of *heißen*, *betiteln*, *schellen*, and a few others.

§ 378. **The Predicate Nominative after als.** After a very large number of verbs distantly synonymous with

sein, werden, or gemacht werden, 'to be,' 'to become,' 'to be made,' the predicate nominative is preceded by the particle *als*. Such are: *gelten, erscheinen, auftreten, hervorgehen, leben, sterben, stehen, liegen; angestellt, berufen, eingesetzt, erklärt, ausgegeben, gerühmt, dargestellt werden; angesehen, betrachtet, etc., werden*. Instances are numerous everywhere: *Die Besten und Edelsten werden gebrandmarkt als des Landes Verräter* (Uhland). *Will Saladin als Saladin nicht sterben? So muß' er auch als Saladin nicht leben.* (Lessing.) *Die Spanier, der Bayern stolzer Herzog stehen auf als Kläger wider Sie* (Schiller).

This use of *als* is of Nhg. origin. In Mhg. and the other older dialects the predicate noun followed the verb without connective. And in poetic diction this is still very often the case. A few examples of many: *Und kann ich ihm nicht ein Retter willkommen erscheinen*, etc. *Fremdlinge stehn sie da auf diesem Boden. So will ich ein Verbrecher lieber als ein Tor von Ihren Augen gehn. Doch die das Opfer eures Zwists gefallen, die Toten stehen nicht mehr auf* (all from Schiller). From Lessing: *(der) liegt ohne Wartung ein Raub der Schmerzen und des Todes da*. In a number of set phrases this older construction is also preserved. Common among them are *Gevatter stehen, Pate stehen, Bote laufen, sich Mutter fühlen, Posten stehen, Wache stehen*. But for the last two we have also *auf Posten, auf Wache stehen*, and it is possible that the shorter form is a mutilation.

In Mhg. and in early Nhg., *als* was regularly a comparative particle, equivalent to our English *as*, German *wie*. Walther's *ir tuot als ein wol redender man* means, 'you act like a well-bred gentleman.' But the man who

acted like a well-bred gentleman in this case actually was one, and from sentences like this the comparison became less, and the predicate relation more prominent. Gradually *als* was replaced by *wie* in its older function, just as the English *like* is replacing the older *as* in similar comparisons: *He speaks like a man* (comparing) *he speaks as a man* (identifying).

§ 379. **The Predicate Noun after *für* and *zu*.** By the use of the particles *als*, *für*, *zu*, the list of verbs able to take a noun in the predicate has been very much increased.

a. *für*, originally a local adverb meaning before, soon acquired the meaning 'instead of,' 'in favor of,' 'in preference to.' Particularly from the latter meaning it was not a far step to its use with a predicate noun. Thus Walther's *ich nim din glesin fingerlîn für einer küneginne golt*, 'I will take your ring of glass in preference to the gold of a queen,' could easily develop into our *ich habe den gläsernen Ring für Gold genommen*, I considered it gold. Latin influence may have helped to give to such sentences a new shade of meaning. For in Latin *pro* was similarly used: *hunc amavi pro meo*: I loved him as my son; *se pro cive gerere*, to conduct oneself as a citizen. In Ohg. it seems to be used in this sense particularly with *habên*, equivalent to Nhg. *halten*, which had its exact parallel in the Latin *habeo pro*. In fact, the Latin used its *pro* somewhat more freely with all kinds of verbs than the German its *für* which has always been confined essentially to verbs denoting opinion or judgment, though also others are occasionally found in Mhg.: *sie kômen alle dâr für kint*: 'They had all come there as children.' Most commonly *halten*, which took the place of the older *habên*,

is used with *für*. Other verbs in common use are *ansehen*, *erklären*, *nehmen*, *annehmen*, *achten*, *anerkennen*, but all of these are also used with *als*.

b. *Zu*. *Zu* and its noun, too, originally denoted local relation, direction. But it takes the place of the ordinary predicate noun in the nominative (or accusative after transitives) in all stages of the language, even in Gothic, though less often there than in Ohg., where it is especially common after *werden*. It occurs still oftener in Middle High German. The older periods differ from Nhg. particularly in not having an article with the noun following *zu*, at least not commonly. In Mhg. the indefinite article begins to occur, and in Nhg. it is the rule, except in case of nouns denoting materials: *Das Wasser wurde zu Wein*, and in some set phrases where the noun is hardly recognized as a noun: *zuliebe*, *zuleide*, *zu Recht* (or *zurecht*), *zunutze*, *zunichte*; but *ich habe ihn zum Freunde*; *ich tue ihm etwas zum Trotz*; *er ist mir zur Last*; *es wird mir zur Bürde*. We are inclined to see in *zum*, *zur* combinations of *zu* with the definite article, as they ordinarily are. But we could not resolve them accordingly. *Es wird mir zur Bürde* is equivalent to: *zu einer Bürde*; *es gereicht mir zum Vergnügen*, *zu einem Vergnügen*. The contraction *zu einem* into *zu'nem*, *zun-m*, *zum* is conceivable, and this being equivalent to that of *zu dem*, *zur* may have analogically been substituted for *zu einer*. Corresponding to the indefinite article and the noun in the singular we regularly have plural nouns in this construction without any article: *Sie wurden zu guten Freunden*. Nouns accompanied by a superlative adjective naturally take the definite article: *Er wurde mir zu dem*

treusten Berater. Sie wurden zu den ersten Räten des Landes ernannt. Also where for other reasons the definite article might be expected, it is used; e.g., *Ich brauchte einen Diener und einen Koch; so beförderte ich ihn zum Koch*, where *zum* is undoubtedly a contraction of *zu dem*.

c. Nominative Absolute

§ 380. **Nominative Absolute in Exclamations.** As in English so also in German the nominative is frequently used in expressions more or less exclamatory and rudimentary. We cannot in all cases be sure whether nouns thus used are in the nominative or the accusative; but often attending adjectives make the case clear. Instances are: *Heil dem König! Feuer! Land! Ein Dieb! Klagen, nichts als Klagen! Bittschriften, nichts als Bittschriften! Die alte Leier!* and many others.

§ 381. **Nominative-Vocative.** In German as in English the nominative has taken the place of the old vocative. It is frequently so used: *Herr Gott, du bist meine Zuflucht für und für.*

§ 382. **Nominative Couplets.** In many proverbs two nominatives are coupled together without any connecting verb, yet essentially in the relation of subject and predicate (cp. § 375). These nouns are usually considered to be in the nominative case and absolute. Besides the instances mentioned in § 375, phrases of frequent occurrence are: *Ehestand, Wehestand! Ein Mann, ein Wort! Sprichwort, wahr Wort! Neuer Arzt, neuer Kirchhof! Gleiche Brüder, gleiche Kappen!* In the last two phrases and in a number of others it is not easy to see how any ellipsis could be supplied to justify a nominative; at all

events, these pithy combinations are much more effective than sentences of the ordinary form could be.

§ 383. **Nominative Absolute in Elliptical Adverbial Clauses.** Not infrequently in Nhg., less commonly in Mhg., the nominative is used in parenthetical elliptical expressions which often have the appearance of being in apposition with a noun in some oblique case. It is their parenthetical nature — in speaking clearly expressed by changing pitch — that calls for the nominative in such phrases, which quite correspond to similar constructions in English with or without the participle “being”: *Dir ist der alte Müller bekannt, bettlägerig ins zwanzigste Jahr, — der Geist noch kräftig, heiter und klar* (Chamisso). *Ein Engel kommt, die Flügeln Gold, der guten Kindern lohnet* (Goethe). *So betraten wir Dresden selbst mit seinen hohen Häusern, manche mit Balkonen. Das Schicksal Franklins ward für Kapitän F. Hall, damals noch ein einfacher Graveur, zum Impulse etc.*

§ 384. **Nominative in Apposition with Clauses.** A noun in apposition with a whole clause is always in the nominative, corresponding to a relative clause with *was*: *Er fragte mich, was ich damit bezweckte, eine Frage, die mich verwirrte. Ich trank sogleich drei bis vier Gläser Wein, ein Mittel gegen die pestilenzialischen Einflüsse, das man in Deutschland sehr bewährt hält* (Goethe). *Nach nichts ringt die weibliche Gefallsucht so sehr als nach dem Schein des Naiven, Beweis genug, wenn man auch sonst keinen hätte, daß etc.*

§ 385. **Anacoluthic Nominative Introducing the Sentence.** In its origin probably due to negligence or forgetfulness on the part of the speaker who changes his

construction in the process of speaking, the nominative has become a stylistic device to put an important noun in an emphatic position, a device used both in English and in German. Mhg. poetry, particularly Wolfram, and also Middle English authors have these constructions much more frequently than Nhg., reflecting in this respect as in many others that the older literature was to be recited rather than read; and they had not yet become a consciously employed stylistic device. Examples: *Dieser Krieg, er hatte ihn herbeigewünscht, herangezürnt* (Spielhagen). *Dieser Tod, dem du mit froher Brust entgegentrittst, kannst du ihn grausam deinem Kind verweigern?* (Körner.) To be sure, in the last sentence we might also have the accusative: *diesen Tod*, in apposition with *ihn*. In case of neuter and feminine nouns whose accusative is like the nominative, these two cases can not be distinguished, nor in the plural of any gender. But a similar independent nominative may stand also for the genitive and dative, whose forms are always distinct: *Meine Treue, auf ihr kannst du bauen. Meine Ehre, der kann kein Verleumder was anhaben.* Often, also, the emphatic noun is in the same case as the pronoun reiterating it later: *Und dieser Bruder, wo ist er? Und diesen Freund, wo finden wir den?*

II. The Oblique Cases

§ 386. **Government of the Cases.** The oblique cases, always governed by some other member of the sentence, sometimes depend upon this member directly, sometimes through prepositions. It is supposed that originally the case was sufficient in itself to indicate the desired rela-

tion; yet also cases governed by prepositions are found very early in all Indo-Germanic languages, but they become more frequent in the later stages of every language; in English the preposition is almost everywhere needed. The accusative and the dative, earlier probably also the genitive, are most frequently governed by a verb, and many think that in relation to the verb the use of all oblique cases began and developed, spreading thence to other parts of speech. On the verb any oblique case, the accusative, dative, genitive, and in the older stages also the locative and instrumental, may depend; the noun and adjective govern none but the genitive and dative. Besides, only when in the predicate can a noun take a dative: *Ich war ihm Lehrer und Freund*. Pronouns and numerals govern a genitive only. (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, § 221.)

The relation between the oblique case and the governing word is not always equally close. While in some instances an oblique case is indispensable, as the object in the accusative, genitive, or dative case, in others it merely modifies the meaning as an adverb of time, place, manner, etc. The closer object relation we have illustrated in the following sentences: *I love him; I help him; I remember him*, representing an accusative, a dative, and a genitive in German: *Ich liebe ihn; ich helfe ihm; ich gedenke sein*. The looser adverbial relation obtains in the following sentences, corresponding again to a German accusative, dative, and genitive, respectively: *He sleeps an hour; we sang him a song; he comes nights: Er schläft eine Stunde; wir sangen ihm ein Lied; er kommt abends*.

It is noticeable that the cases have remained simple,

i.e., unaccompanied by prepositions, when used in the closer object relation, while most of the adverbial relations now find expression in prepositional combinations, though here also the simple cases still occur. The old Indo-Germanic locative, ablative, and instrumental were used in the looser adverbial relations only, and it has been suggested that this might be the reason for their early disappearance. Adverbial relations, manifold and of fine shading, more adequately find expression in an additional adverb, which in time became inseparable from the case it accompanied and was then a preposition. At first this adverb-preposition probably simply emphasized the relation already expressed in the case alone, just as we add an apparently superfluous adverb in many German expressions: *Ich gehe ins Haus hinein, über das Meer hinüber, durch den Wald hindurch*, etc. Compare also our English *in-to the house*, but *to church, to school; into the church, into the school* expresses the same relation more explicitly; similarly: *right in the heart; down in the valley*.

It is fair to say that the simple oblique cases are used much more nearly in their original function than prepositional combinations; yet it is quite certain that they too have in many instances been made to serve in new relations. In combination with prepositions the three oblique cases of German cover not only their own original field, but also much of the territory formerly held by the locative, ablative, and instrumental.

1. The Accusative

§ 387. **General Meaning of the Accusative.** Though tempting, it is of little promise to speculate as to the

original meaning of the accusative, or the occasion of its coming into being. It is here; found in essentially the same functions in all the Indo-Germanic languages, having apparently undergone less functional change than any other oblique case, and probably for the reason that it was in the oldest accessible stages pre-eminently the case of the direct object of transitive verbs.

The various uses of the accusative in German and in many other languages can fairly be put under five heads: (a) The Object Accusative; (b) The Predicate Accusative; (c) The Appositional Accusative; (d) The Adverbial Accusative; and (e) The Absolute Accusative.

a. *The Object Accusative*

§ 388. **Various Relations of the Object to the Governing Verb.** a. The relation of one verb to its object differs widely from that of similar verbs to their objects; and the same verb is not infrequently in entirely different relations to various objects. Compare, for example, *to shut the window*; *to freeze the cream*; *to melt the ice*; the window remains unchanged; the cream is changed; the ice is destroyed. Similarly compare: *to shoot the arrow*, *to shoot the dog*; *to close the door*, *to close the house*; *to take a knife*, *to take a trip*; *to make a book*, *to make peace*, and many others. But similar conditions have always existed, and they really only demonstrate that the same word has to serve in many meanings and that the particular meaning of a word can be determined in a given connection only; *to take a trip*, means for an Englishman precisely what a German means by *eine Reise machen*. In this instance *take* and *machen* must

be equivalent, for *Reise* and *trip* are. Yet the German *Reise* meant in Mhg. also expedition, pilgrimage. Similarly also the meaning of verbs may change, and often the same verb is connected with an entirely different group of objects in different periods of the language. A notable example is the German *gerben*, now used only with *Fell* or *Leder* or any possible synonyms of these. It cannot be used with others, because its meaning has been reduced to "tanning." Formerly it meant very broadly, to prepare, make ready, and in this more general meaning it could be connected with a multitude of objects, among them *Weg*, *Volk* (*thuruhthigan folc*, a perfect people), *Mahlzeit*, *Grab*, *Ostermahl*; also *Wange* (*garawi imo thaz ander wangi*: offer him the other cheek), *Tod*, to prepare death for some one, and other nouns. Similarly many other verbs had at an earlier period a larger range of objects and have lost them, while others in the course of time have acquired more. Particularly in translating we become aware of many combinations in which a verb is clearly used in a widely different sense from that ordinarily regarded as its central meaning. We call such combinations idioms, of which we expect nonconformity to ordinary usage. In many such idioms at least, we have to do with survivals of older usage in one or the other language entering into the translation. Thus we still say in German, *Leid tragen*, *Sorge tragen*; in English we say, *to bear a grudge*, *to bear ill-will*, possibly *to bear enmity*, all of which are also used with *tragen* in Mhg. On the other hand, we say in English *to take care*, *to take lodging*, *to take a nap*, *to take a leap*, *a start*, *a cold*, *refuge*, etc. Similarly we find with *nēmen* in Mhg. such

objects as *Hafen*, *Kind* (conceive), *Neid* (*Feindschaft*), *Reise*, *Schlaf*, *Sprung*, and others. In Nhg. we still say *Logis* or *Herberge nehmen*, *seine Zuflucht nehmen*, but with the other nouns other verbs are now used. To show how verbs thus change their meaning and in consequence the range of their objects is the province of the lexicon.

b. Peculiar Relation of Reflexive Verbs: Transitive, Middle. Judged from an English point of view, many reflexives in German seem quite peculiar, though it is probable that here again the German preserves more nearly the state common to all the older Germanic dialects, Old English included; but even in Old English reflexives are less commonly used than in the other dialects.

The reflexive verb could formerly be construed with the genitive, dative, or accusative. It still takes a dative occasionally, but has its object generally in the accusative case, and serves two quite distinct purposes. It is sometimes purely transitive, as in *Er tötete sich und seine Frau; er liebte sich selbst nicht weniger als ihn*, etc. Almost any transitive verb can in this sense become reflexive, in English as well as in German. But in many other instances the relation between the verb and its object is entirely different, and often we have in modern English intransitive verbs instead. It seems as if the reflexive in this sense had taken the place of the extinct Middle, still found in Greek and other languages, and grammarians have claimed for it middle function, said to be found in such reflexives as, *ich setze mich*, *ich lege mich*, *ich wende mich*, and other verbs of similar content. Still these are not so far re-

moved from transitives, though *ich setze dich, lege dich, wende dich*, really denote a different activity and a different relation between verb and object. Plainly removed from the transitive function are such combinations as, *ich freue mich, ich fürchte mich, bedenke mich, beeile mich, bewerbe mich, wundere mich, versehe mich* (to err), *verirre mich*, and others; some from intransitives: *ich nahe* or *nahe-mich; verkriechen* or *sich verkriechen; sorgen* or *sich sorgen; ruhen* or *sich ruhen; eilen, sich eilen*, and others. In English the equivalents of all these are intransitives. Grimm observed that, when used in this rather indefinable reflexive way, the pronouns never have any stress, and if at any time they are stressed, this stress involves a change in meaning. *Ich fürchte mich*, with the stress on the verb, means, I fear; but *ich fürchte mich*, stressing *mich*, I am in fear of myself. The unstressed reflexive pronoun, regularly following right after the verb, has almost developed, or degenerated, into a morphological element, being inseparably connected with the verb and expressing together with it the intended idea, just as the two elements in *Weisheit* and other recognizable compounds are needed, one as much as the other, to convey the new idea. The Norse proceeded one step farther and combined the enclitic, and therefore indistinct, reflexive pronoun as a suffix with the verb, and thus formed a new middle voice, for some forms at least.

§ 389. **Object Affected by the Action or Created by it.** Some transitive verbs denote that the action expressed in them terminates upon an object, affects it. Such are: *Ich schlage den Hund, ich trage Wasser*, etc. Other verbs, or the same verb in other connections, denote

that by the action expressed in them the object is called into being: *Er schlägt eine Gedenkmünze, er pflügt Furchen*, but also, *er pflügt den Acker*; sometimes it depends upon the context whether a verb is to be classed with the one or the other category: *Er schreibt Gedichte in sein Taschenbuch*, which may mean that he is either making or copying poems.

§ 390. **Object apparently Omitted.** Many verbs sometimes take an object, sometimes they do not. Some of them are so regularly transitive that the omission of the object is felt as elliptical, e.g., in the following: *Ha, wie spaltete sein Schwert*. In other cases no such ellipsis is felt, which means that, though a verb may at some stage have been exclusively transitive, its meaning in certain connections changed so that it is now also just as truly intransitive. *Die Kugel trifft* means little more than, *the soldier aims well*, while *die Kugel trifft den Feind* at once turns our attention in another direction. *Das Ei zerbricht, wenn es nicht gut verpackt wird* means essentially, *the egg is fragile*. *Zerbrich sieben Eier und scheide sorgfältig das Weiße von dem Dotter* is an entirely different *zerbrechen*, just as almost any other word may be used in different senses: *I break the news gently: I break the glass: the glass breaks*. In case of *zerbrechen*, we must now distinguish a really intransitive verb, apparently developed from the older transitive, but of the same form with it. The intransitive takes as its subject the object of the transitive: *Ich zerbreche den Stein: ich schlage auf den Stein, bis er zerbricht*.

Other verbs, as *treffen*, cannot in the same sense be said to be both transitive and intransitive. *Die Kugel*

trifft still presupposes an object, which, however, we do not care to express. Similarly, *a thief is a man who steals, a slanderer one who slanders, a teacher one who teaches*. All of these verbs, in a sense, presuppose objects, because the action cannot be carried out without an object affected. But while we can say of a man: *He is a teacher, a trainer*; or of a machine, *it is a mower, a reaper, a cultivator*, we must in case of other machines be more specific and designate them as *rule-cutters, paper-cutters, card-cutters*, etc. The field of operation of a mower, a reaper, a teacher is so well-known and, on the other hand, so general that it is neither necessary nor possible to define it as in the case of *card-cutter*, etc. Similarly many verbs transitive in themselves can and must be without an object, because the object is, on the one hand, too obvious to need expression and, on the other hand, too general to make expression possible.

§ 391. **Verbs regularly Intransitive, with an Object.** Conversely, in poetic diction especially, we frequently find verbs with which an accusative object strikes us as bold or unusual. Klopstock and other poets of the eighteenth century are particularly daring in this respect. Thus we find in Klopstock: *Christus blutete Gnade. Das Meer donnert des Unendlichen Lob. Jede der Wogen rauscht Entsetzen*. Klinger has: *Blicke Tod!* similar to our colloquial, *He looked daggers*. In a way similar, but with a reflexive dative and rather in common use are: *sich rote Wangen schlafen; sich einen Buckel lachen; sich eine rote Nase trinken; sich Blasen laufen*, etc.

Klopstock again, more than any other poet, and without having really established the usage, employs as tran-

sitives many simple verbs which are commonly so used with some prefix; he uses transitively *trauern* = *betrauern*; *singen* = *besingen*; *heiter* = *erheitern*; *hellen* = *erhellen*; *fernen* = *entfernen*; *herrschen* = *beherrschen*, and quite a large number of others. Later writers, such as Maler Müller, Klinger, and even Goethe and Schiller on occasion, imitated him.

Often it is hard to see how an intransitive verb manages to become transitive. Sometimes it is undoubtedly due to analogy with synonymous transitives. Thus *fahren* may now be used with an object: *Fischerknabe, fährt sich im Kahn. Ich fahre dich hinüber*; also: *ich rudere dich hinüber*, just as in English: *I will drive you over to the next town; I will row you across*. In German, *führen* is a factitive, causative verb, originally intended to express exactly what we now express with our transitive *fahren*. But in time it acquired a different meaning, to lead, conduct, and *fahren* itself was pressed into service; however, we can still say: *Ich fahre mit dir hinüber. Rudern* is similarly used by analogy, also *segeln*, and possibly other verbs. The English word *drive* is interesting. Originally transitive, *I drive my horse*, it became absolute, intransitive, *I drive to town*, and finally once more transitive, but with a different meaning and a different object: *I drive my horse: I drive: I drive you over to town*.

§ 392. **Verbs Transitive in English, Intransitive in German.** There are a few verbs, transitive in English, which are construed with a preposition and a noun in German, such as *werfen*, *schütteln*, *winken*, *wedeln*, and possibly a few others. In case of *werfen*, either the object aimed at

or the object hurled could from of old stand in the accusative case: *Ich werfe den Stein, ich werfe den Hund*; English: I throw the stone, but, I hit the dog. Naturally, if both were to be expressed, the stone would become the instrument and take at first the instrumental, then also the simple dative, and finally the dative case with *mit*: *Ich werfe den Hund mit dem Stein*. From this developed also: *Ich werfe mit dem Stein nach ihm*, just as we say in English: *I aim at the dog with a stone*, possibly also, *he aimed long with his arrow*. Similarly we say: *Der Hund wedelt mit dem Schwanz*, English: The dog wags his tail. The verb *wedeln* is a derivative from *Wedel*, meaning a duster, feather duster. *Der Hund wedelt mit dem Schwanz* really means, then, the dog performs the movements of a duster *with* his tail, — again the instrumental idea; in other words, the German *wedeln* and the English *wag* are not altogether identical. Nor are *winken* and *wink*. German *winken* ordinarily means *beckon*: *Er winkt mit den Augen* = he beckons with his eyes. Analogously also: *Er zwinkert mit den Augen*. By a similar analogical process: *Er schüttelt mit dem Kopf* arose beside *er schüttelt den Kopf nachdenklich*.

§ 393. **The Object of the Transitive Verb becomes the Subject of the Passive.** The accusative object only can be used in the nominative as the subject of the verb put in the passive. A few unusual constructions not counted, the genitive and dative objects remain in their respective cases if the verb is put in the passive and no subject is expressed: *Man gehorcht ihm: ihm wurde gehorcht. Ich gedenke sein: seiner wird gedacht. But: Ich liebe ihn: er wird geliebt.*

§ 394. **Anomalous Subject of the Passive.** When an infinitive with an object figures as the object of *suchen* and a few other verbs, the corresponding passive is somewhat anomalous. *Man sucht ein Haus zu kaufen* should become, properly: *Es wird gesucht, ein Haus zu kaufen*. But commonly we say: *Es wird ein Haus (ein guter Hund) zu kaufen gesucht*. Probably for a time neuters, as *ein Haus*, were in both constructions felt as accusatives, whereas the case is now clearly a nominative in the last sentence. Several things may have worked together to bring about the confusion. First, the infinitive phrase *ein Haus zu kaufen* was not so clearly a unit that it could not be separated, and soon the verb, taking its second place, split the noun from the infinitive: *Ein Haus wird zu kaufen gesucht*. In the feminine and neuter singular as well as in the entire plural the nominative and accusative are alike in form, and the noun, once separated from its infinitive, came to be felt as a nominative. We say now regularly: *Es wird ein junger Hund (not einen jungen Hund) zu kaufen gesucht*, meaning about: A young dog is wanted for buying. Similarly *versuchen* is used at times, and *anfangen* and *beginnen*, *wünschen* and *vergönnen*. *Guter, alter Wein muß für den Kranken zu schaffen versucht werden*. *Der Vortrag wurde in dem kalten Saal zu halten angefangen, begonnen*. *Ein geräumiger Garten wird zu pachten gewünscht*. *Der Mund wurde ihm nicht zu küssen vergönnt*. But probably none of these sentences, except those with *suchen*, would be tolerated by discriminating speakers. They would prefer constructions with *man* or other available locutions.

§ 395. **The Cognate Accusative.** This name is applied to an accusative which is, in a way, already contained in the verb, redundant therefore, and only added for the sake of vivifying. Almost always it is accompanied by some adjective or other characterizing modifier; and it is very frequently used with verbs ordinarily intransitive: *Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpft*: I have fought a good fight. *Ich habe ein gewagtes Spiel gespielt*: I played a risky game. *Er starb den Tod des Gerechten, den Tod fürs Vaterland*, etc.: He died the death of the righteous, etc.

In many cases the verb and this object are etymologically cognates: *Kampf*: *kämpfen*; *Spiel*: *spielen*, etc. In others they are merely synonyms: *play*: *game*; *Tod*: *sterben*. The place of the accompanying modifier is sometimes taken by a demonstrative adjective, which clearly refers to a limitation expressed before: *Blödelin fiel von der Hand eines tapferen Helden. Diesen Tod zu sterben ist keine Strafe*.

Again, the cognate object may be accompanied by a relative or some other qualifying clause: *Mönchlein, Mönchlein, du gehst jetzt einen Gang, wie ihn mancher Oberst in der schwersten Schlacht nicht getan. Die Zeit kommt allgemach heran, daß ich den Weg gehen muß, von dem man nicht wiederkehrt*.

Often also the cognate noun is sufficiently delimited by composition with another noun: *In dem Werke singt der Dichter seinen Schwanengesang. Und jene Knabenfehde wolltet ihr noch jetzt fort kämpfen, da ihr Männer seid?*

Rather rarely the cognate accusative becomes the

subject of a passive verb: *Die Schlacht war geschlagen und der Sieg gewonnen.*

§ 396. **Double Accusative Object.** With very few verbs we find both the indirect and the direct object in the accusative. *a.* The most common of them is *lehren*: *Ich lehre den Jungen ein Handwerk.* In analogy with the multitude of verbs taking the personal object in the dative, we find occasionally also a dative with *lehren*: *Ich lehre dem Jungen ein Handwerk.* This is unusual, however. But while in the older stages of the language the *personal* accusative regularly became the subject in the passive, other constructions are now more common. We can still say: *Ich wurde im achten Jahr Französisch gelehrt*, but prefer: *Ich wurde im achten Jahr im Französischen unterrichtet* or some other equivalent; possibly also: *Mir wurde im achten Jahr Französisch gelehrt.*

In the case of *lehren*, the etymology of the word might give a clue to the origin of the double accusative. Judging from the older usage regarding the subject of the passive, the *personal* accusative would seem to have been the real object. Nhg. *lehren* is a causative from a stem **līs*, preserved in the Gothic preterite-present *lais*, to know; i.e., *lehren* meant, 'to make to know': *Ich lehre dich Französisch*; I make, cause, you to know French.

In analogy with *lehren*, also a few synonyms were sometimes construed with a double accusative, e.g., *unterrichten* and *unterweisen*. We now say more commonly: *jemand in etwas unterrichten, unterweisen.*

b. *Bitten* is used with a personal accusative and an accusative of a neuter pronominal; similarly *fragen*. So *ihr den Vater etwas bitten werdet in meinem Namen. . . .*

Das fragst du mich, so schüchtern mich? In Mhg., nouns, and not infrequently also pronouns, when used as non-personal objects with *bitten*, are often found in the genitive: *tuo, des ich dich bit*. We now say rather: *Ich bitte dich um Hilfe*; and this was possible also in Mhg., alongside of: *ich bit dich dîner helfe*.

c. *Versichern*, formerly construed with a personal accusative and a genitive, now has two accusatives, the place of the genitive having been taken by a neuter pronominal accusative (cp. § 439). *Das versichere ich dich*, but also *dir*. Ordinarily *versichern* is followed by a personal accusative and a *daß*-clause or an infinitive.

d. *Bereden*. Similarly with *bereden* an accusative has developed from an older genitive, which also still occurs: *Ihr Herz läßt sich alles bereden, was Ihrer Einbildungskraft ihm* (dative) *zu bereden einfällt* (Lessing). *Mich wolllt ihr das bereden* (Schiller); quite probably Lessing felt *alles* as a genitive.

e. *Kosten*. Starting in Mhg., which adopted the word from the Latin *constare*, *kosten* now has regularly two accusatives, though, particularly in North Germany, the personal object is also often put in the dative: *Es hätte mich einen Fußfall gekostet* (Schiller). . . . *sie kostet mir mein Vermögen, meine Ehre* (Lessing). On the other hand Lessing has: — *Dein Pelz würde mich am Ende siebenmal mehr Schafe kosten, als er wert wäre*. How the two accusatives arose with *kosten* does not seem clear. It was apparently construed similarly to *gelten*, which regularly had an accusative of measure and a personal dative, just as we now say: *Das gilt mir nicht viel*. But *gelten*, in the sense of our *vergelten*, *belohnen*, *büßen*, could also

take a *personal* accusative, in which case, however, the accusative of cost or measure was not expressed. Possibly this personal accusative may have encroached upon the personal dative in the other construction: *die schult gelten, den schaden gelten, die boten gelten*, etc.; but also: *sô wil ich gerne borgen dir, daz dû her nâch geltest mir* (dative). Possibly our Mhg. author may have felt the *daz* introducing the dependent clause as an accusative of the pronoun rather than as a conjunction: *Ich will dir gerne leihen, was du mir später bezahlst*.

f. *Heißen*, just like *kosten*, is construed with two accusatives, the non-personal being regularly a pronominal form; or with a personal dative and an accusative: *Wer heißt dich* (or *dir*) *das*. If the non-personal object is an infinitive, as it very often is, the accusative for the personal is the rule, the dative exceptional: *Heiß mich nicht reden. Ich heiße dich nicht gehen und nicht bleiben*. But in the corresponding passive the dative is the rule: *Sie tat, wie ihr* (not *sie*) *geheißen war*. This may be done in order to avoid ambiguity. *Heißen*, in another meaning, ordinarily used actively: *Ich heiße Hans*, my name is Hans, is sometimes, like *nennen*, also used as a passive verb in the same sense: *Ich bin Hans geheißen* (*genannt*).

g. *Verhören, abhören, überhören* (*hören*), are sometimes used with two accusatives, though more commonly with a personal dative. The two accusatives are used probably in analogy with *fragen*, of which they are synonyms: *Der Herr überhört die Kinder ein auswendig gelerntes artiges Gedicht* (Goethe). Similarly, not only *der Lehrer hat den Schülern*, but also occasionally *die*

Schüler, die Aufgaben abgehört, überhört, verhört. In one expression particularly, *hören*, too, is thus used: *einen die Beichte hören*; in this expression the dative for the person seems less common. *Die Beichte hören* is synonymous with *beichten*, which is used both intransitively and transitively: *Ich beichte dem Priester: der Priester beichtet mich*, hence probably also: *Der Priester hört mich die Beichte*.

Of a different nature is the second accusative with *hören* and *anhören* in the following sentences from Goethe: *Höre mich noch ein paar Worte. Ich bitte, daß ihr mich nur vier Worte anhören wollt.* Here the accusative seems most nearly akin to an accusative of time, as in: *Höre mich nur noch eine Minute.* Cp. English: *Listen to me for just another word.*

b. The Predicate Accusative

§ 397. **Definition.** The predicate accusative is in much the same relation to the object of certain verbs as the predicate nominative is to the subject. Nouns as predicate accusatives are used with but a few verbs and are less common in German now than formerly. Some of these verbs are factitive, i.e., through the action expressed in them the object becomes what is designated in the predicate accusative. The others denote in what relation the predicate accusative is put with the object; cp. factitive: I appoint him monitor: *ich ernenne ihn zum Aufseher*; but, I call him monitor: *ich nenne ihn Aufseher*.

And just as the plain predicate nominative is supplanted frequently by *als* and a noun, or also by some

prepositional phrases, so also the plain predicate accusative, particularly after factitive verbs, shares the field with the same constructions (cp. §§ 378, 379).

Again, just as the adjective is frequently used in the nominative predicate, so also it appears in the accusative predicate. But owing to the loss of all inflection of adjectives following their noun, or in the predicate, the adjective has the same form in either case.

§ 398. **Plain Predicate Accusative.** The plain predicate accusative is used after *nennen*, *heißen* (in the sense of naming), *schelten*, *schimpfen*, *schmähen*: *Italien nennt keinen großen Namen, den dieses Haus nicht seinen Gast genannt* (Goethe). *In tiefster Seele schmerzt mich der Spott der Fremdlinge, die uns den Bauernadel schelten* (Schiller). *Man schimpft ihn einen Advokaten*. Occasionally the simple predicate accusative noun is found with a few other verbs, but it is felt as poetic or unusual: *Die Hirten grüßten willig Grafen ihn und gnädigen Herrn*. Similarly used we find *spotten*, *fühlen*: *Ich fühlte mich einen Gott*; *achten*: *Ich achte dieses alles Tand und Spielwerk*; *machen*: *Gustav Adolf machte sich Meister vom Rhein*; *rühmen*: *Des edlen Ibergs Tochter rühm ich mich* (Schiller). With *schreiben* in the sense of *nennen* it is common: *Er schrieb sich einen Schneider von Beruf*. Occasionally it is found with verbs of knowing, thinking, believing, estimating, etc., as *finden*, *fühlen*, *sehen*, *erkennen*, *erfinden*, *schätzen* (*halten*: *keinen Reimer wird man finden, der sich nicht den besten hielte* [Goethe], quite unusual), *achten*, *glauben*, and a few others of similar meaning. All of these verbs are commonly followed by *als* or *für* and an accusative, or *zu* and the dative; only

glauben and *finden* are usually followed by a *daß*-clause or the simple accusative: *Ich glaube* (or *finde*) *ihn einen guten Menschen*, or *ich glaube*, or *finde*, *daß er ein guter Mensch ist*. In English the equivalents of many of these verbs are still followed by a simple accusative, which was also more common in the older periods of German.

§ 399. **Predicate Accusative with *als*.** The predicate accusative with *als* is used after quite a large number of verbs; some of them admit also the construction with *für* and the accusative. These are marked below with a star (*): *achten*, **anerkennen*, **ansehen*, **auslegen*, **ausgeben*, *begrüßen*, *beschreiben*, **betrachten*, *bewähren*, *beweisen*, *erweisen*, *darstellen*, *ehren*, *empfinden*, *entdecken*, **erklären*, *erwähnen*, *finden*, *erfinden*, *fühlen*, *grüßen*, *begrüßen*, *kennen*, *loben*, *preisen*, *schildern*, *sehen*, *vorstellen*, *einführen*, *weihen*, *zeigen*, and some others. Again, English usage with many of the equivalents still allows the simple accusative.

§ 400. **Für and zu Constructions in Place of the Predicate Accusative.** After *halten*, *achten*, *erklären*, and *ausgeben*, *für* and the accusative are regularly used: *Ich halte ihn für meinen Freund*; *ich achte*, *erkläre*, *gebe ihn aus für* (or *als*) *meinen Freund*. After *machen*, **wählen*, **ernennen*, **erklären*, **einsetzen*, and other verbs of creating, appointing, *zu* and the dative are used: *Wir wählen ihn zum Präsidenten*, while English again has the simple accusative. Those starred admit also *als* with the accusative.

§ 401. **Origin of *als*, *zu*, *für* with Predicate Nouns and Adjectives.** a. *Als*. In its oldest function *als* served as a comparing particle, connecting two objects similar

in some way. We still use it thus, though *wie* has very much encroached on this field: *Sie ist schlank wie eine Tanne*, but also, *sie ist so schlank als eine Tanne*. Only after comparative adjectives *als* rules, having here taken the place of the older *denn*. *Ich betrachte ihn als großen Gelehrten* meant originally: I look on him as on a great scholar. This function having been transferred to *wie*, *als* gave up its comparative and assumed identifying force, and our sentence now means: I regard him (as) a great scholar. The same slight ambiguity felt in the English sentence with *as* exists also in many German sentences with *als*. Often, where the relation is purely predicative and no comparison is intended, *für* may take the place of *als*, as with *schätzen*, but certain verbs will not allow that construction.

b. *Zu*. The preposition *zu* denotes fundamentally either location or direction and aim. From the latter meaning developed its use with the factitive accusative predicate. *Ich tue dies zur Linderung des Elends* is precisely the same as our English, I will do this *toward* the amelioration of the suffering. But in neither language is it a far step toward: I will do this as my share of the amelioration, as an amelioration of the suffering. Other combinations lend themselves even more readily to either interpretation. Cp. *Ich stifte die Kirche zum ehrenden Andenken an meinen Mann*. The word *Andenken* has two meanings just as *remembrance*: on the one hand, the act of remembering, memory; on the other, a token of remembrance, a memento. Particularly with the qualifying adjective it would be most naturally taken in the latter sense, and from its earlier meaning: *I build this*

church (looking) toward, for the purpose of, remembrance for him, the combination: *Ich baue ihm die Kirche zum Andenken* had developed into: *I build it as a memento, a monument for him*, and *zu* with the dative had become a rival of the simple predicate accusative. If we now use the simple accusative in such sentences, it is felt as a word in apposition, *Ich baue die Kirche, ihm ein ehrendes Andenken*. From such sentences as these developed: *Ich ernenne, wähle*, etc., *ihn zum Präsidenten*, where in English we preserve the older construction: *They elected him president*.

c. *Für*. The preposition *für* also had originally local meaning, being etymologically and as to meaning the same as our *before*. *Für* and *vor* are cognates, going back, respectively, to Ohg. *furi* and *fora*, the first of which denoted motion toward the front, the other rest in the front. This distinction holds also for Mhg. In Modern German *für* is always used figuratively, having in this function often also usurped the place of *vor*. To its early local meaning was easily added a temporal one, as in our English: *He arrived before him, before evening*; and to this that of preference: *I choose him before all others, love him before all others*. Thus Walther has: *Ich nim din glesîn vingerlîn für einer küneginne golt*: I take your ring of glass before the gold of any queen. But "in preference to" implies also "instead of," and from this we easily arrive at the predicate relation: *Ich nim din glesîn vingerlîn für einer frouwen golt* could easily become: *Ich nehme deinen gläsernen Ring als das Gold einer Dame*. In other connections this transition might be still easier, e.g., *Ich nehme dein Wort für einen Wechsel*.

c. *The Accusative Subject of the Infinitive*

§ 402. What is to be said under this heading was included in the treatment of the infinitive, § 347, c.

d. *The Adverbial Accusative*

§ 403. **Accusative Denoting Place Where.** I. *With Verbs.* a. *Intransitives.* It is commonly thought that many of our adverbs are corrupted or isolated case forms. This view is supported by the fact that the oblique cases are used with adverbial function. The accusative occurs thus with verbs, with nouns, with adverbs, and adjectives. In many connections we now use prepositional phrases where formerly the simple accusative was sufficient. Just a sentence from Mhg. to illustrate: *nû riten si beide, nû holz, nû heide: Nun ritten sie beide, bald (durch) den Wald, bald (durch) die Heide.* Instances of this kind abound in the older dialects. In modern German we still have: *Er geht seinen einsamen Lebensweg. Die Kugel fährt ihre fürchterliche Straße,* just as in English: The bullet goes, travels its fearful course. Possibly also in *weggehen, wegziehen*, and other compounds with *weg* the prefix is an old accusative. But ordinarily we say now, *über Berg und Tal wandern, durch Wiesen und Felder eilen*, etc. It might be noticed that in *seine Straße ziehen, seinen Weg gehen*, etc., the accusative is not far removed from the cognate accusative (§ 395). The simple verbs, with which the simple accusative denoting the "place where" is still occasionally found, are few: *gehen, wandeln, treten, fliegen, fahren, ziehen, schreiten, kommen, klettern.* In prose we should probably prefix to them

some adverb denoting direction, as *entlang*, *daher*, *hin*, etc.

b. With Transitives. A few transitive verbs of motion, taking their object as usual, are similarly followed by an accusative denoting the place of motion. Such are: *führen*, *leiten*, *weisen*, *senden*, *fahren*: *Ich führe dich den kürzesten Weg nach Hause. Leite mich den rechten Pfad.* It might be noticed that but rarely is any other noun than *Weg*, *Straße*, *Pfad*, *Gang*, and their synonyms used in this construction, and it is possible that the kinship of these accusatives with the cognate accusative, suggested above, keeps them in vogue.

2. *With Local Adverbs.* The accusative denotes the place where — not necessarily the extent — with a number of local adverbs, independent of any verb. Such adverbs are particularly *hin* and *her* and their many compounds, as *hinab*, *hinauf*, *hinan*, *hinunter*, *hinüber*, *hindurch* (all of them also with *her*), *dahin*, *daher*, *vorbei*, *vorüber*, *zurück*, *zuberg*, *zupal*, *aufwärts*, *abwärts*, *entlang*, and others. *Der Pfad den Berg hinauf, hinab, ist schwer zu gehen. Pferd an Pferd stand die breite Straße dahin. Der Forstmeister stürmte die Laube auf und ab* (Chamisso).

3. *With Compound Verbs.* Probably the use of the accusative just mentioned (2) grew out of its use with verbs compounded with these adverbs or at first accompanied by them; and in a still older stage the accusative in itself was sufficient to define the place where the motion occurred. Many verbs are thus compounded, often acquiring the idea of motion only through entering into composition: *Grüne, du Laube, mein Fenster herauf* (Gellert). *Da kam ein Mann zu Pferde den nahen Wald heraus* (Pfeffel, unusual). Wieland has, also contrary to

common usage: *Er tritt den Saal hinein*, instead of *in den Saal hinein*. Motion up and down seems to be more commonly thus expressed: *Es zieht eine Rotte das untere Tal herauf*. *Wir klettern den Berg hinan*. Also adverbs equivalent to our *along* are thus used: *Sie ritten ihren Weg dahin, entlang*. This accusative rarely becomes the subject of a passive verb.

§ 404. **Accusative with Verbs, answering the Questions: How Far? How Long?** Though probably most common with verbs of motion, this accusative is found also with various other verbs: *Der Mississippi ist die ersten paar hundert Meilen nicht schiffbar*. *Das Kind hielt er Armeslänge vor sich*. *Wir gingen drei Meilen den Fluß hinab*, etc. This use of the accusative is found in all the older Germanic dialects. Quite similarly, also time is measured. *Als er vierzig Tage und vierzig Nächte gefastet hatte, hungerte ihn*, etc.

§ 405. **Accusative of Distance, in Space, Time, or Degree.** Of quite the same nature is the accusative indicating the distance after a number of prepositions denoting separation, such as *von, vor, nach, hinter, außerhalb, innerhalb*, etc., and after comparative adverbs and adjectives, and the positive with *zu*: *zu alt*, etc. *Der Feind lagerte kaum eine Meile von der Stadt*. *Er kam eine Stunde vor mir an*. *Er ist drei Zoll größer als ich, zwei Zoll zu groß*, etc.

§ 406. **Accusative of Measure in Space, Time, and Value after Adjectives and Adverbs.** We should naturally think that this accusative was the same as the one just mentioned. And it is possible that it was influenced by the former. For after comparatives both the accusative and the genitive were used in Mhg.: cp. *Er war*

eines Hauptes länger denn alles Volk. In Ohg. the instrumental could be used besides, which we have in corrupted form both in our English *the more the better*, and in German *desto* from older *des diu*. After adjectives such as *lang, weit, breit, tief, dick, hoch, stark, alt, wert*, denoting extension, worth, or age, the genitive alone was the rule. Herder still has: *Der Pfeil war einer Elle lang.* Occasionally we now find: *Sie hatten nicht einer Handbreit Raum.* Then: *Eigner Herd ist Goldes wert. Das ist einer Schande wert.* Both in: *Er ist eines Hauptes* or *ein Haupt länger denn alles Volk*, and in: *Eigner Herd ist Goldes wert*, the genitive denotes measure; and if after *länger*, the comparative, it could freely interchange with the accusative, it was easy to introduce the accusative in the other case also, particularly when from other sides it made inroads upon the genitive, as we shall see in the treatment of this case. Today we say: *einen Fuß lang, einen Monat alt, einen Taler wert.* The adjective *alt* is frequently omitted, just as in English: *Das Kind ist jetzt zehn Monate.*

§ 407. **Accusative Denoting When, How Often.** While the simple accusative denoting "place where" is now limited in its scope (§ 403, 1), the accusative is still quite freely used to express the time when, which sometimes turns into "how often." We have it commonly in writing dates: *Berlin, den 1. Februar, 1914*, also *1914* being probably in the accusative, if not in the partitive genitive. But also freely in other constructions: *Ich trat ihn jeden Tag von neuem wieder an, ließ jeden Tag von neuem mich verhöhnen* (how often). *Ich fahre Mittwoch, nächsten Mittwoch, ab.*

§ 408. **Accusative of Manner or Attendant Circumstance.** Also this accusative is found in English as well as in German, and it has been common in all the Germanic dialects at all times: I shall see him face to face: *Stirn gegen Stirn, Angesicht zu Angesicht, Auge in Auge wollen wir die Sache erörtern.* Many similar expressions are common in both languages: *Hand in Hand und Lipp auf Lippe, liebes Mädchen bleibe treu. Schritt für Schritt:* step by step; *Zoll für Zoll:* inch by inch. *Hals über Kopf; Arm in Arm; Schuß auf Schuß,* and many others. Often we hardly feel that they are accusatives or any other case; they have almost gone over into the category of adverbs. Sometimes it seems almost as if we had to do with some ellipsis, but usually it would be quite difficult, if not impossible, to supply it without essentially changing the meaning.

§ 409. **The Accusative of Cost and Amount.** The accusative is used after verbs denoting the cost, weight, amount, or number, being closely related in this function to the accusative of measure, etc. (§ 406). It is thus used after *gelten, kosten, wiegen, betragen, zählen, zahlen* (*halten* and *fassen*, in the sense of containing), *messen* (*haben: Der Rest hat noch sieben Meter*), *stehen* = cost, also *schwer^{er} sein, groß sein, hoch sein*, etc. Of these verbs *halten, fassen*, and *haben* would be considered transitives also in the peculiar meaning attached to them in this connection. The others, however, are intransitives, but followed by the accusative as in English. *Das Buch gilt or kostet einen Taler, steht mir einen Taler*, also: *kommt mir einen Taler zu stehen. Ihr Beitrag beträgt einen Taler.* That the accusative is felt as an adverbial accusative

with the transitive verbs mentioned, and not as an object, appears from the fact that it is never used as a subject of the passive; in fact, these verbs are never put in the passive with this meaning.

§ 410. **Accusative Absolute, usually a Modifier of the Subject.** This accusative, too, is common in English, but it seems here less rigidly confined to modifying the subject. It is always the modifier of a noun or pronoun and regularly accompanied by some adverbial or adjective modifier: *Angetan mit einem Sterbekleide, eine Blumenkron' im blonden Haar, schlummert Röschen*, etc. (Hölty). *Und sie seufzt hinaus in die finstere Nacht, das Auge vom Weinen getrübet*: She sends her complaints into the dark night, her eyes red with weeping. Not very often does the accusative absolute modify an oblique case in German: *Werden sie einen solchen Eid halten, den man ihnen, den Dolch auf der Brust, abgezwungen hat?* Quite unusual is the following sentence: *Goethe ist der König seines Volkes; ihn gestürzt, und wie leicht dann mit dem Volke fertig werden* (Börne). How this accusative arose is not clear. It is possible, of course, to supply in most cases a present participle. But it is doubtful whether we have to do with an ellipsis, because the usage is rather literary than colloquial. Wulfila furnishes a very few cases of the absolute accusative in his Gothic Bible, and these possibly under Greek influence, but just as possibly also in harmony with the spirit of his language. It is more frequent now than in the older periods, a circumstance which would not make it seem impossible, yet less

probable, that much is to be ascribed to the study of Greek and Latin, with their absolute accusative and ablative. In English this accusative quite naturally may refer also to an oblique case: *We met him on the street, his hat on his ears, his feet well secured against the cold, his hands nervously playing with a cane.*

2. The Dative

§ 411. **Functional Development of the Dative.** Originally the dative seems pre-eminently to have denoted personal interest. But in time it closely verged in its functions on a number of other cases, the locative, the instrumental, and the ablative, with which it became confused not only in meaning, but also in form, so that in a part of the paradigms in the Germanic dialects the so-called dative corresponds to an Indo-Germanic ablative or instrumental. Accordingly, in the older Germanic dialects, particularly in Gothic, the dative has frequently the function of the cases with which it coalesced. Yet it would seem that a feeling for its own particular force was always kept alive, for in time the simple dative was remarkably limited in its use to the functions of the old Indo-Germanic dative, while the functions acquired from the locative, instrumental, and ablative were in a small part transferred to the genitive and accusative, but most commonly found expression in prepositional combinations.

The simple dative in German, then, usually expresses some sort of personal interest and thus corresponds to the original Indo-Germanic dative. With prepositions it seems to represent almost invariably the older locative, instrumental, and ablative.

It must not be concluded from this that the pure dative is confined to persons. We can also say: *einer guten Sache dienen, helfen; dem Gewissen folgen*. Nevertheless, in such constructions the dative is not far removed from a personal dative; it involves a sort of personification. There is an emotional difference between *die gute Sache fördern* and *einer guten Sache dienen*; less between *eine gute Sache fördern* and *einer guten Sache nützen*. As we saw in another connection, certain verbs involve personal relations, and, possibly, in *einer guten Sache dienen* and similar constructions the personification is brought about as much by the coloring of the verb as by the dative following.

§ 412. **Government of the Dative.** The dative is governed by verbs, transitive or intransitive; by adjectives, participles and adverbs; possibly also by nouns.

1. *The Dative with Verbs*

§ 413. **The Indirect Object.** The relation between the verb and a dative depending on it is not in all cases equally close; with some we always expect a dative, with others it may or may not be used. Yet no sharp lines can be drawn in this regard. Nor is it possible here to enumerate all the verbs calling for a dative, or to classify them in anything like satisfactory, homogeneous categories. It may be said very generally, however, that the dative is found with verbs, transitive or intransitive, or combinations of some verb and a noun or adverb, having the following general meanings:

1. Approach, removal, deprivation, lack. Instances are: *nahen, begegnen, nachgehen, folgen, weichen, ent-*

fliehen, and other verbs with *ent-*; *fehlen*, *mangeln*, *entgehen*, *werden*. Expressions such as *mir ist wohl*, *mir ist übel*, *wie dem sei*, probably belong in this category. They may have started with *werden*, originally a verb of motion, a cognate of the Latin *verto*: *Mir wird weh und angst*. *Weh* and *angst* were nouns, and the expression meant: Sorrow and distress are falling to my lot, just as we still say: *Was wird mir dafür*: What is coming to me for it? When *werden* became an auxiliary of tense the construction readily extended to the other tense auxiliaries. *Weh* and *angst* were in time also used as adjectives, and in analogy we say now: *Mir ist wohl*; *wie dem auch sei*, etc.

2. Likeness, similarity, fitness: *gleichen*, *ähneln*, *entsprechen*, *geziemen*, *passen*, *anstehen*, *gebühren*, *lassen* (in the sense of becoming: *Das ließ ihr schön zu ihren blauen Augen*), *stehen*: *Das steht mir gut*.

3. Expressions of liking or disliking, serving, helping, obeying: *schmeicheln*, *huldigen*, *trauen*, *glauben*, *gefallen*, *behagen*, *zusagen*, *genügen*, *schmecken*; *drohen*, *mißfallen*, *grollen*, *zürnen*, *trotzen*, *wehren*, *widerstehen* and other verbs with *wider-*; *fluchen*, *schaden*; *dienen*, *helfen*, *fröhnen*, *beistehen*, *aufwarten*, *opfern*, *nützen*, *geborchen*, *folgen*, *lauschen*, *nachgeben*, *willfahren*; *zu Hilfe kommen*, *den Hof machen*, *zu liebe*, *zu leide tun*, *wehe tun*, and many other expressions with *tun* equivalent to a verb.

4. Answering, agreeing, contradicting: *antworten*, *erwidern*, *entgegnen*, *zustimmen*, *beipflichten*, *raten*, *zureden*, *widersprechen*, *abratens*, *widerstreben*, *widersetzen*, and other compounds with *wider*.

5. Transitive verbs of giving or taking: *geben*, *widmen*, *verehren*, *bescheren*, *gewähren*, *zuwenden*, *gönnen*,

schenken, reichen, bringen, leihen, liefern, schicken, senden; nehmen, rauben, stehlen, entwenden, etc., verweigern, versagen, etc.

6. Verbs of communicating ideas: *sagen, melden, anzeigen, beichten, bekennen, offenbaren, mitteilen, verkündigen, klagen, gebieten, befehlen, schreiben, telegraphieren*, and others. Some of these verbs are also followed by prepositional combinations: *ich sagte ihm, zu ihm, etc.*

7. The dative is found with a number of impersonal verbs: *mir träumt, bangt, graust, schwindelt, ahnt, schwant, behagt, geziemt, scheint*, and a few others.

§ 414. **The Dative of Interest.** While the dative of the indirect object in general denotes the direction, the aim toward which an action tends, the dative of interest, quite appropriately also called dative of advantage or disadvantage, denotes usually a person in whose interest or to whose disadvantage an action is done. It is thus found with intransitives as well as transitives, but not commonly with transitives used absolutely, i.e., without their direct object: *Dem Glücklichen schlägt keine Stunde. Es klingt mir wie Musik. Mir stehen alle Türen offen. Ich wasche dem Kinde das Kleid;* but not: *ich wasche dem Kinde*: I am washing for the child. To express this, German also resorts to the preposition *für*: *Ich wasche für das Kind*. It is therefore probably fair to say that with transitive verbs the dative of interest depends not on the verb alone, but on the combination of verb and object; the dative of interest in this particular case approaches the so-called dative of possession (§ 416).

§ 415. **The Ethical Dative.** The ethical dative is always a pronoun of the first or second person. Its meaning can

quite plainly be felt, but it defies definition: *Sei mir fleißig; das ist mir eine schöne Geschichte; das war dir eine Freude*. Possibly the meaning may be indicated by translation: You see to it that you are diligent. That is a fine affair, I must say. That certainly was great joy. In Low German, more even than in literary speech, the dative of the second person often seems to have little other function than that of denoting assurance of the correctness of the statement, or to lend emphasis to it: *Das waren dir selige Tage*: Happy days they were for sure; particularly in imperative sentences this seems to be the case: *Nun seh mir* (Low German also *dir* [dî]) *einer den Menschen an!* The ethical dative always contains a strongly emotional element and is therefore regularly omitted in indirect discourse; for emotions are momentary and spontaneous and find expression in modulation more perhaps than in any special words. If any particular words used in helping to give utterance to them should be repeated in indirect discourse, which is from its nature never spontaneous, they would appear tame and colorless without the modulation depending on the spontaneity of the original utterance, the more so, the less real content they have. The ethical dative always being a pronoun of the first or second person, it would be particularly difficult to keep it in indirect discourse, because as the original statement passes into the mouth of another speaker, the person of the pronouns would have to be changed; both *mir* and *dir* would ordinarily have to be *ihm*.

§ 416. **The Dative of Possession.** Inasmuch as the dative pre-eminently denotes a personal interest of a more

or less intense degree, we can understand that it should commonly be used to designate the person concerned whenever an assertion is made with regard to some part of his body or some object more or less intimately connected with him, as clothing, etc. This dative is commonly known as the dative of possession, because in English its place is often taken by some possessive adjective, and it is, in fact, sometimes not far removed from merely denoting the possessor. Yet here also the personal, emotional element is quite commonly not obliterated. With nice discrimination Schwab writes: *So schienest du mir in die Wiege, so wirst du scheinen in mein Grab*, — the possessive adjective when any personal interest is no longer possible, but otherwise the dative. This dative is rarely quite equivalent to an English possessive, though hardly translatable in any other way, and alongside of it the possessive adjective also is used in German. A few examples may attempt to make clear the meaning. *Ich weiß mir keinen Rat und lege mein Schicksal in seine Hände*. On the other hand: *Ich lege ihm (vertrauensvoll) mein Schicksal in die Hände*. In either case we have to translate: I put my destiny in his hands. But the first sentence denotes rather resignation, the second confidence and trust. Or again, a man walking with a woman whom he knows only slightly might say: *Stecken Sie nur Ihre Handschuhe in meine Tasche*. But, on the other hand: *Nach und nach kommen wir uns schon näher. Gestern hat sie mir ihre Handschuhe in die Tasche gesteckt*: Gradually we are getting better acquainted. Yesterday she put her gloves in my pocket. Or: *Fast finde ich sie zudringlich: ewig steckt sie mir ihre Handschuhe in die Tasche*: Almost

I have to think her obtrusive; forever she is putting her gloves in my pocket; the one sentence expressing satisfaction, the other annoyance. If the noun denoting the part of the body depends on a preposition, we find in Nhg. quite frequently an accusative instead of a dative denoting the person concerned: *Ich schlug ihn* or *ihm ins Gesicht*, *trat ihm* or *ihn auf den Fuß*. The accusative in such constructions seems to be more common in South Germany than in the North.

§ 417. **The Dative with Compound Verbs.** A number of inseparable compounds, as *gestehen*, *versichern*, *widersprechen*, and others, govern the dative, but less, perhaps, as compounds, than because, by reason of their meaning, they regularly fall in the same categories with the simple verbs similarly construed. These are not to be considered here. There are, however, also a few particles, formerly separate adverbs, and many of them still continuing their existence in the function of prepositions, which so modify the meaning of verbs that a dative becomes possible with them. Some of these particles, if used as prepositions, would also govern the dative, and it was not unnatural that this case should be retained with them when they grew together with the verb as particles. And, possibly in analogy with them by reason of meaning, a number of compounds whose prefixes would more naturally call for an accusative are now construed with the dative. Particles with which we should expect the dative are *ab-*: *abfallen*, *abhandeln*, *ablocken*, and many other transitives with *ab-*; *an-*: *anhaften*, *anleben*, *anstehen* (= to please), etc.; *bei-*: *beistehen*, *beipflichten*, *bestimmen*, but also, clearly in analogy, *beitreten*

beispringen, and a few other verbs denoting direction; *entgegen*—: *entgegensehen*, *—laufen*, *—eilen*, etc.; *mit*—: *mitspielen*, *mitgeben*, *mitsenden*, etc.; *nach*—: *nachstehen*, *nachstellen*, *nachjagen*, *nachrennen*; *nachsprechen*, *nachsehen*, *nachfragen*, and many others; *ob*—: *obliegen*, *obsiegen*, and a few others now obsolete; *vor*—: *vorstehen*, *vorlesen*, *vorgreifen*, and others; *zu*—: *zukommen*, *zustehen*, *zutreten*, *zustreben*, *zureden*, *zueignen*, *zurechnen*, *zusagen*, etc.

Particles so connected with verbs that we should rather look for an accusative are: *an*— in *anbieten*, *anlegen*, *anhängen*, *anziehen*, *antragen*, *anerziehen*, *andichten*, *anschwatzen*, and a number of others, all of them denoting direction, in which case the preposition *an* takes the accusative; *bei*— in *beitreten* and others already mentioned; *auf*— in *aufladen*, *auftragen*, *aufbinden*, *auflegen*, *aufschwätzen*, and others; *vor*— in *vorhalten*, *vorlegen*, *vorstellen*, *vortragen*, *vorwerfen*, and a few others; *ein*—, always denoting direction, in *eingeben*, *einreden*, *einprägen*, *eintrichtern*, and others; *über*— in *überwerfen*, *ü'berlegen* (*jemandem eine Decke überlegen*), and others; *um*— in *u'mhängen*, *u'mgeben* (*ein Tuch umgeben*), *u'mgürten*, and a few others.

§ 418. **Verbs Combined with Adverbs or Nouns, with the Dative.** We have seen on several occasions that not infrequently verbs more or less colorless, at any rate in themselves inadequate to express a desired idea, are connected with adverbs or nouns together with which they form a more or less close union and express what can often be said by some synonymous simple verb. Many of these combinations quite naturally fall into the categories of the verb calling for a dative, and a dative is, accord-

ingly, connected with them. Adverbs of this kind quite commonly used, are: *wohl*: *wohltun*, *wohlwollen*, *wohlbekommen*, also *übelwollen*, *übel*, *schlecht bekommen*, and others; *nahe* and *fern*: *nahestehen*, *nahegehen*, *nahetreten*, *fernbleiben*, *fernliegen*, and others.*

Nouns similarly connected are: *Gewalt tun*, *Hilfe leisten*, *Bescheid geben*, *Schaden tun*, *Einhalt tun*, *Verdruß machen*, *Freude machen*, *Anstoß erregen* or *geben*, and others.

Prepositional combinations, too, often serve the same purpose and similarly take a dative, particularly those with *zu* denoting purpose or result of an action: *zuliebe tun*, *zuschanden machen*, *zunutze machen*, *zum Heil sein*, *zum Ärgernis gereichen*, and others.

§ 419. **The Dative with Reflexives.** In many cases a reflexive dative is in precisely the same relation to the verb as any other dative: *Ich baue mir ein Haus*, etc. Some verbs cannot naturally be followed by a reflexive: *folgen*, *gehören*, *zeigen*, *reichen*. Others just as naturally can be followed by reflexives only: *Ich nehme mir etwas vor*; similarly, *einbilden* and others. Bothersome for Englishmen are some verbs with which a reflexive pronoun may either be used or not: *Ich ziehe (mir) den Rock an*, *gürte (mir) das Schwert um*, *kaufe (mir) ein Haus*, etc. Yet in the first two of these examples the dative is as much to be expected as the possessive adjective in the corresponding English sentences; also in: *Er weint sich die Augen aus*, *er nimmt sich Zeit*. Why the English should use a possessive and the German a dative in such sentences is not apparent. Something may be due to analogy with similar expressions in which the reference

would not be quite so clear: *Er sticht sich* (or *ihm*) *die Augen aus*. Old English frequently used the dative in a similar way.

2. *The Dative with Adjectives*

§ 420. Categories Analogous to those of the Verb.

Many adjectives and also participles and adverbs govern the dative. By far the most of them are then in the predicate with *sein*, *werden*, *scheinen*, *bleiben*, and the like. Rarely is a dative governed by an attributive adjective. Usually their meaning readily assigns these adjectives to one of the categories of the verb. Thus the dative is used with adjectives denoting approach, inclination toward, or opposition to a person: *nahe*, *benachbart*, *fern*, *fremd*, *bekannt*, *unbekannt*, and others. A large number of them denote in general, submission, affection, friendship, agreement, and their opposites: *lieb*, *teuer*, *geneigt*, *gnädig*, *wohlwollend*, *wohlgesinnt*, *günstig*, *gewogen*, *treu*, *wert*, *heilig*, *angenehm*, *ergeben*, *gehorsam*, *willkommen*, *zugetan*, *widrig*, *böse*, *feind*, *abgeneigt*, *abhold*, and others. In a much freer way the dative is used with a multitude of adjectives to denote a person in whose judgment a statement is true or valid: *Es ist ihm unangenehm*, *wert*, *lieb*, *leid*, etc.; it may not seem unpleasant, precious, dear, regrettable generally, but to some particular person. A large number of adjectives in *-lich* and *-bar*, denoting possibility, are thus construed: *ausführbar*, *anfechtbar*, *denkbar*, *erträglich*, *tunlich*, *dienlich*, *einträglich*, *ersprießlich*, *förderlich*, *hinderlich*, *schrecklich*, and many others, some of which lack the idea of possibility: *verantwortlich*, *fürchterlich*, *verdrießlich*, etc.

The same relative limitation to some person implied in these adjectives is inherent in any adjective preceded by *zu* or followed by *genug*: *Es ist mir kalt, warm, hoch trocken genug; es ist ihm zu hoch, tief, klug, gesucht*, etc.

Some adjectives, when used relatively to some person, change their meaning: *Er ist mir böse* = angry, not base; *es ist euch gut* = advantageous; *es ist mir recht*: satisfactory. Often this special meaning is confined to the adjective when used in the predicate; we do not say: *der mir böse Nachbar*.

3. *The Dative with Interjections*

§ 421. **Wohl, weh.** The use of the dative with the interjections *wohl* and *weh* is probably due to an ellipsis. Both words are also used as nouns, and though as interjections they are not capitalized, a form of the copula, usually best in the optative subjunctive, is readily supplied and inferred: *Wohl, weh sei dir*. Strangely, in Mhg. also the accusative is similarly used. Thus Walther has: *Wol mich der stunde, daz ich sie erkande*. But in Mhg., too, the dative is the more common case.

4. *Use of Dative Limited in New High German*

§ 422. **Broader Sphere in Ohg. and Mhg.** The dative has in a number of constructions been replaced by prepositional or other combinations. Thus the dative was used, similarly to the Latin ablative, after comparative adjectives: Tatian: *Mihhiles bezira ist ther man themo scâfe* (dative): Much better is man than a sheep, and so often. It is used as a sort of dative of specification: *Lazarus gieng ûz gibuntan hantôn inti fuozin*: Lazarus went out,

bound hands and feet. It was used to denote "time when": *Sie slahent inan, inti thritten tage arstentit* (Tatian): They will kill him and on the third day he will rise. Frequently in Ohg., sometimes also in Mhg., it was used to denote cause or instrument: *Er scal dôwên sînên worton* (dative) *in therero manno hanton*: He shall die because of his words at the hands of men (Otfrid). *Niuwên zungôn* (dative) *sprehhent* (Otfrid): They shall speak with new tongues.

In various parts of Germany the dative is in popular speech frequently confused with the accusative. In the Low German dialects, just as in English, one form does service for both cases: in some dialects the accusative; in most of them, again as in English, the dative. This fact accounts for the ludicrous confusion of the two cases of which often North Germans become guilty. A widely known example of this kind we have in Fritz Reuter's Uncle Braesig in "*Ut mine Stromtid.*"

3. The Genitive

§ 423. **General Meaning.** The name 'genitive,' like the names of the other cases, is a Latin translation of Greek names brought into general acceptance by Dionysius Thrax, a Greek grammarian of the second century B.C. With the term γενική the Greeks probably meant to indicate that the case, in general, denotes the species, the "genus." The Latins named it from one of its functions, that of indicating parenthood. It is much broader in its application, and the Greek term might more appropriately have been given with "Generalis," "belonging to the genus," "being of such or such nature." (Cp. Del-

brück, *Einleitung in das Studium der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 4. Aufl., p. 8 ff.)

The genitive has always been used either with verbs, or with nouns and adjectives; the one is sometimes called adverbial, the other adnominal. A number of prepositions and adverbs with which we now use the genitive were originally nouns.

It is impossible to find one general meaning from which the various uses could readily be derived; nor is it possible to know, with any positiveness, whether the adverbial or the adnominal function of the case is the older. But it is clear that the genitive, in being used with verbs, assumes meanings different from any it has when used with nouns, though there are some functions, in particular the partitive, common to both the adverbial and the adnominal genitive.

In treating of the various functions of the genitive some care is needed lest we ascribe to the case, distinctions really having their root in different meanings of the governing words. Still, it is legitimate to make categories if in any larger number of words governing the genitive a sameness of meaning appears; for it may be this sameness of meaning that drew the genitive to the entire group in analogy with some word in the group calling for the case for other reasons.

In general it must be stated that the genitive has lost ground more than any other case. Just as in English, so in the German dialects, it is practically obsolete, except in the function of a possessive, and that confined to proper names or nouns used as proper names, as *Vater*, *Mutter*, *Onkel*, etc. It is significant that in this function feminine

names also sometimes take the *s*, the genitive ending of masculines and neuters: *Maries Buch*, *Mutters Geburtstag*, etc.

1. *The Genitive with Verbs*

§ 424. **Preliminary.** It is impossible to put the verbs governing the genitive into anything like satisfactory groups, particularly in modern German. For at all times the functions of the genitive have been so widely divergent that they resist all attempts to force them into comprehensive categories. And what groups might have been formed with some show of reason for the older periods of German have, for the most part, in modern German dwindled down to a few straggling examples. Nevertheless some of these categories are distinguished in the following paragraphs, and may serve to illustrate the persistent losses which the case sustained in its history.

§ 425. **The Partitive Genitive with Verbs.** A number of verbs denoting in a very general way possession, acquisition, or disposal of things were formerly followed by a genitive. They are now more commonly construed with *von* and a noun, or very often also with an accusative, particularly an accusative without an accompanying definite article, which, in contrast with the definiteness of the accusative with the article, has acquired a more general, almost partitive force. Where Hartmann says: *er az daz brôt und tranc dâ zuo eines wazzers*, we should now say: *Er aß das Brot und trank Wasser dazu*, English: some water; or Nibl.: *sie hete noch des goldes: sie hatte noch Gold* or *von dem Golde*. In poetry the genitive might still be used in such cases, particularly if accompanied

by some adjective: *Es schenkte der Böhme des perlenden Weins*. Of other verbs once similarly construed, and still occasionally thus used, may be mentioned *essen, trinken, genießen, kosten, schmecken, schenken, geben, leihen, darreichen, haben, bekommen, finden*. All of them are now commonly followed by an accusative or by *von* and the dative. Only *genießen*, in the sense "to enjoy," not in the sense "to eat," still often takes the genitive: *Laß mich der neuen Freiheit genießen*; but it also quite commonly takes the accusative.

§ 426. **Genitive of Want or Separation.** The genitive was formerly used with a large number of verbs to denote the object wanting, or being removed, or kept away. Of those denoting want but few are still thus construed: *mangeln, entbehren, entraten, brauchen, bedürfen, begehren, harren, warten*, and possibly a few others. Of those mentioned only *entraten* is still exclusively construed with the genitive. For the Biblical *wir mangeln des Ruhms, den wir vor Gott haben sollten*, we should now say: *Uns mangelt der Ruhm*; *entbehren, brauchen, bedürfen, begehren* now take the accusative, *harren* and *warten* take *auf* and the accusative.

Similarly a small group denoting cleaning, healing, used to take the genitive, as *reinigen, waschen, läutern, heilen, erlösen*, also *genesen*, which is still so used in: *eines Kindes genesen*, but: *von einer Krankheit genesen*. It might be noted that the English equivalents of most of these verbs, *cleanse, wash, heal*, take *of* rather than *from*, pointing to an earlier use with the genitive. In German they now take *von* and the dative.

Another group of verbs belonging here denote depriva-

tion and riddance: *befreien*, *erlassen*, *entsetzen*, and a number of other compounds with *ent-*, *überheben*, *berauben*, *bestehlen*, and in older German many others of the kind. Any of these may now still be construed with the genitive, but also in other ways, some with *von* or *aus*. *Erlassen* now takes the dative of person, accusative of non-personal object: *Ich habe ihm die Strafe erlassen* more commonly than: *Ich habe ihn der Strafe erlassen*. The verbs with the prefix *ent-* rather persistently keep the genitive, but also: *Er ist aus der Schule* and *der Schule* (genitive) *entlassen*. A few reflexives still naturally followed by the genitive are, *sich entäußern*, *sich begeben*, *sich enthalten*, *sich wehren* or *erwehren*: *Ich wehre* or *erwehre mich des Feindes*, but also *des Lebens*; with *weigern* the genitive is now uncommon. In the Bible we have: *Weigere dich der Züchtigung des Allmächtigen nicht*, and Lessing has: *Weil sich der Freund dessen weigert*; we should say: *Weil er sich weigert, das zu tun*.

Verbs synonymous with many of those mentioned in this paragraph, and many others now differently used, were in Latin construed with the ablative, and some scholars have on that ground spoken of an ablative-genitive. But on the whole the functions of the Indo-Germanic ablative seem to have been transferred to the dative.

§ 427. **The Genitive of Cause or Means.** With many verbs, particularly in Mhg., the genitive denoted cause or means. A few rather stereotyped phrases still illustrate this usage: *des Todes*, particularly *eines unnatürlichen, gewaltsamen Todes sterben*; *des Glaubens*, *der Hoffnung leben*; *sich einer Sache freuen*, *schämen*; *sich der Aussicht*

getrösten; sich wundern, sich erbarmen: Der Gerechte erbarmt sich seines Viehes; danken, loben: Des alles ich ihm zu danken und zu loben schuldig bin (Luther); *sich überheben, sich rühmen; anklagen, zeihen, überführen, beschuldigen, bezichtigen*, and a few others; also *jemanden Lügen strafen* belongs here, though it is doubtful if *Lügen* is now commonly felt as a genitive.

§ 428. The Genitive with Verbs in Looser Relations.

It must be apparent that in not a few instances the genitives in the preceding paragraphs did not very plainly denote what the headings of the paragraphs seemed to indicate; e.g., how are *des Todes sterben, seines Glaubens leben*, genitives of cause? A large number of verbs governing genitives it is impossible to classify according to any similarity of content. The genitive simply denotes some relation between the verb and itself, and we have to feel in each case what may be this relation, much the same as we feel in case of compound nouns the peculiar relation of the component members. And of these genitives, too, the older dialects have many more than we have now. A few of those still in use may here be enumerated: *sich eines Dinges versehen, vermessen, unterwinden, erdreisten, erfrechen, erkühnen; jemanden eines besseren belehren, des Lebens versichern, einer Antwort würdigen; einer Sache schweigen, erwähnen, gedenken; jemanden seines Versprechens erinnern, gemahnen*, and some others.

It is significant that of the large number of verbs once regularly, and still occasionally combined with a genitive, scarcely half a dozen are not commonly otherwise construed. Such are *entraten, ermangeln, gedenken*; then some standing phrases with *leben* and *sterben*: *der Hoffnung*

leben, daß, etc., *Hungers sterben; eines Kindes genesen*, and a few others.

2. *The Genitive with Nouns*

§ 429. **Great Variety of Relations.** The genitive is used with nouns in an even greater variety of meanings than with verbs. It seems to denote, in itself, merely the most general relationship to the noun it modifies. What that relationship may be in any given case wholly depends upon the meaning of the two nouns combined. *Der Sohn guter Eltern* denotes a different relation from *die Eltern eines guten Sohns*; *die Häuser der großen Stadt* different from *die Stadt der großen Häuser*. Theoretically a large number of categories could thus be made, as many as there are different combinations of noun with noun. It is possible, however, to find some common element in many of these combinations, and on that ground categories are formed. But it cannot surprise us if on occasion some genitive would seem to be less aptly classed.

It must be added that not every imaginable relation between noun and noun can be expressed by the genitive. While we can say both *die Kirchen der Stadt* and *die Stadt der Kirchen*, we can only say, *der Stahl des Messers*, not *das Messer des Stahls*. As we say, *das Messer ist von* or *aus Stahl gemacht*, so we prefer also, *das Messer von* or *aus Stahl*.

In the following paragraphs the customary division of the material is made.

§ 430. **The Genitive of Possession.** The name as customarily used in grammar is much more comprehensive than its ordinary meaning would suggest. It

serves in quite a variety of relations. We say both *das Land des Königs* and *der König des Landes*, *der Herrscher des Landes*, and yet in the first sentence the possession means something quite different from what it could mean in the second and third. In German we say both *das Bein des Mannes* and *das Bein des Tisches*. In English we can only say *the man's leg*, but have to say *the leg of the table*; i.e., in English the possessive with *s* is confined to persons and animals who really can possess. In this respect the real possessive is limited in English. But the possessive represented by the preposition *of* and its noun is as varied in its meanings as the German possessive genitive: *the windows of the house*, i.e., part of the house; but *the paper of the book*, i.e., the material of which the book is made; *the way of the transgressor: the path of virtue*; *the strength of a madman: the strength of conviction*, and any number of different shades.

Proper names are not in the ordinary manner combined with a possessive genitive. We say *die Frau Goethes*, but not *Christiane Goethes*. Luther has for our *Simon, son of Jonas* (John 21, 15), *Simon Johanna*; Gothic and Old High German have similar constructions, plainly under Greek influence. But until the end of the eighteenth century the genitive form of a father's name was commonly added to that of a child, *Friedrich Hinrichs*, meaning the son of *Hinrich*. The next generation would probably be *Hinrich Friedrichs*. We can still say *Claassens Theda*, *Schultzen(s) Heinrich*, etc., but when following, the family name takes the place of the older genitive. Here is the explanation of many genitive forms of proper names: *Meyers*, *Friedrichs*, *Heinrichs*, *Peters*, and others. When-

ever for any reason a proper name calls for the article, it can also take a genitive: *Welchen Hans meinst du? Den Hans des Jacobs*. This is also the explanation of *Klärchens Egmont*, meaning a particular Egmont, in contrast with the Egmont as other people see him. The same usage prevails in English.

§ 431. **The Genitive of Specification.** Closely related to the possessive genitive is the genitive of specification, defining or particularizing the noun on which it depends. Compare the English: *the blessings of a good home* and: *the blessing of a good home*, the first meaning, the blessings which a good home affords, the second, the blessing consisting of a good home; the first is properly a possessive, the second a specifying genitive. Similarly, *das Laster der Trunksucht, die Tugend der Mäßigkeit, die Pflicht der Wahrhaftigkeit, das Band der Freundschaft, die Nacht des Todes, das Licht des Lebens*. Yet the last three could reasonably also be called possessive genitives.

But a slight variation of this genitive, and commonly classed with it, is the genitive which really expresses the main idea, the most prominent characteristic of which is, usually metaphorically, expressed by the governing noun. Instances are: *die Flamme des Krieges, die Natter der Zwietracht, der Stachel des Neides, ein Strahl der Hoffnung*, and many others, all of them common in English also.

Peculiar to English, French, and German, and equally hard to explain in all, are expressions like, *ein Engel von einem Weibe* or *von Weib, eine Seele von einem Menschen, ein Teufel von einem Jungen, eine Hexe von Mädchen*. They are usually mentioned in this connection; it seems

possible that they might better be connected with the partitive genitive. In Mhg., as Wilmanns states, there is no construction quite equivalent. And yet it seems to me that in Mhg. we find combinations — some of them quoted by Wilmanns — which might well have given origin to this odd construction: Erec 8221: *si sâhen den wunsch von wîben*, they saw the cream of women. Though of a noun accompanied by an adjective a genitive would be more common, the construction with *von* and the dative in this case does not seem strange. In Nhg. *von* and the dative encroached upon the genitive in various places. All weak masculines, and nouns in *-n* of the so-called first class in Nhg., as *Mädchen*, and also weak feminines in Mhg., have the same form for the dative singular and the dative plural. It would at least not be impossible for confusion to arise in this way. As we could say, *er ist ein Muster von Jungen*, *sie ein Engel von Mädchen*, and might here properly feel *Jungen*, *Mädchen* as plurals, so we might also say, disapprovingly, *er ist ein Esel von Jungen*, *sie ein Dragoner von Mädchen*. The combination in itself would make the plural of the noun less conspicuous, and hence open the way to misapprehension, which might, by analogy, lead to expressions such as, *er ist ein Teufel von Kerl*, and in time to, *ein Teufel von einem Kerl*. That the noun is used entirely by itself without the indefinite article might be taken as an indication that it was plural in origin. To be sure, the fact that the same construction is found in French and English too, and here not even so strictly confined to persons, seems a rather strange coincidence, and it may be that, after all, we have to do with a borrowed construction. Yet the explanation

attempted here for German seems to me more plausible than any I can see for either of the other languages, and possibly German might in this case be the giver.

§ 432. **Appositive Genitive.** In certain combinations the genitive enters into competition with a nominative. We can say, corresponding again to English usage, *er hat den Titel eines Geheimrats*, or *den Titel Geheim(er)-Rat*, *erhalten*. With names of cities, etc., construed with *of* in English, the apposition is the rule: *die Stadt Berlin*, *das Königreich Preussen*, etc.

§ 433. **The Genitive of Characteristic or Quality.** In more or less poetic diction, not so commonly in prose, the genitive, usually together with a qualifying adjective, is used to denote some quality of the governing noun: *ein Jüngling edlen Gefühles*; *ein Mann niederer Herkunft*; *ernsthafter Natur*, *mittleren Alters*; *Fahnen aller Größen und Farben*. Genitives in: *Werke der Liebe*, *der Barmherzigkeit*, *Gaben der Milde* had better be considered subjective genitives (§ 435). Yet it is apparent how closely they approach the genitive of characteristic in meaning.

On the other hand, the genitive of characteristic seems not far removed from the genitive denoting material: *ein Mantel feinen Stoffs*, etc., a coat of fine material.

Though commonly classed with the genitive of characteristic and yet somewhat different in nature are the genitives in such expressions as: *der Geist des Friedens und der Wahrheit*; *der Gott der Liebe*, etc. These genitives are more like the genitive of specification, § 431.

§ 434. **The Partitive Genitive with Nouns and Pronouns.** 1. The name partitive genitive covers a number of constructions of somewhat different significance, but

not so far removed from each other that a connection cannot be recognized. In English as in German we say, the multitude of the people, the bulk of the people, *die Menge des Volks*, and a regiment of soldiers, *ein Regiment Soldaten*. In every phrase we have a genitive; yet we readily see that in *a regiment of the army*, the genitive is partitive, i.e., denotes the whole of which a part is mentioned, while in *a regiment of soldiers*, or *a dozen of eggs*, the genitive denotes rather the kind of which the regiment, the dozen, consists. Compare in this respect *a dozen of eggs* and *a dozen of the eggs brought in last night*.

Closely related to this genitive of kind, if we might call it so, is also the genitive in such expressions as: *die Zeit der Ernte*, *die Tage der Jugend*, *Stunden der Andacht*, and many others; still looser is the relation in *der Ort der Tat*, *die Zeit des Handelns*, etc.

2. The partitive genitive, in the commonly accepted sense of the term, has greatly lost ground in Nhg. Down through the Mhg. period it was the rule with nouns denoting multitude or measure, as *ein Glas Wassers*, instead of *ein Glas Wasser*, *ein Pfund Mehls*, *eine Menge Volks*, etc.; likewise with numerals when used substantively, as *dreißig tausend ehrlicher Soldaten*, *unser einer*, etc.; with a number of indefinite pronouns, as *viel*, *wenig*, *jemand*, also with *wer*, *was*; and finally with superlative adjectives. While in all or most of these connections the partitive genitive is still possible, it is nowhere indispensable or even the more usual construction. Particularly genitives unaccompanied by any adjective have been almost altogether replaced by the respective case of the

governing noun: *Das Pfund Zucker* (nominative) *kostet fünf Cent*; *ich kaufe ein Pfund Zucker* (accusative); *mit einem Pfund Zucker komme ich aus*. After numerals higher than one, the case of the noun is usually in agreement with the numeral, particularly if the noun is not accompanied by some adjective modifier: *hundert Reiter, dreißig Pferde*, etc. At any rate, it is not commonly felt as a genitive, though its form is not distinct from that of the nominative and accusative. Adjectives in connection with nouns in this relation always seem to aid in preserving the older genitive: *ein Schock schöner, frischer Eier, drei tausend tapferer Soldaten*. But here also the appositive construction is possible and common enough: *Er hatte ein Heer von dreißigtausend tapferen Soldaten*. Only after *ein*, when used pronominally or substantively, the partitive genitive is the rule, unless its place is taken by *von* and the dative: *einer der Soldaten*, or *einer von den Soldaten*.

But in all these constructions the genitive is often not very clearly felt as a distinct, dependent case. *A cup of coffee* is a unit; cup is no longer felt as a measure. Hence we say, in English as well as in German, *a good cup of coffee, a sweet glass of cider, eine gute Tasse Kaffee, ein süßes Glas Wein*, though the adjectives clearly apply to coffee and cider, not to cup and glass. Sometimes even, inflectional endings belonging to the noun of measure are transferred to the depending noun; we do not say: *mit zwei Dutzenden Eier*, but: *mit zwei Dutzend Eiern*, as over against: *mit einem Dutzend Eier, einem Dutzend schöner, frischer Eier*. The difference in construction after *ein* and *zwei* is undoubtedly due to the fact that in *einem*

the dative is clearly indicated while in *zwei Dutzend* it is not. The dative plural form *Dutzenden* is common only when the word is used by itself: *zu Dutzenden*.

In Mhg. the partitive genitive was the rule after *einige, viel, etwas, wenig, nichts, jemand, niemand*. We still say: *nichts Gutes, etwas Neues*, etc., but these forms, though genitives in origin, are now felt as nominatives or accusatives, and *nichts, etwas* are indeclinable adjectives, no longer pronouns or substantives as formerly; hence we say in the dative, *er kommt mir mit nichts Gutem*, etc. *Jemand* and *niemand* are now followed by *von* and the dative, instead of the older genitive: *jemand von meinen Bekannten*.

Similarly also superlative adjectives are quite as commonly followed by *von* and the dative as by a partitive genitive: *der Begabteste der ganzen Familie* or *von der ganzen Familie*, regularly: *der Begabteste von allen*; the former partitive genitive in such cases has become a sort of adverb of degree: *der allerbegabteste*: the most gifted.

§ 435. **The Subjective and the Objective Genitive.** Most commonly with nouns akin in meaning to verbs, but occasionally also with others, a genitive is used which sometimes corresponds to the subject, sometimes to the object of the corresponding verb, and receives its name accordingly. In some instances the mere combination of two nouns in this way leaves no doubt as to the nature of the genitive: *der Verlust des Vermögens: der Verlust des Kaufmanns*. *Die Freude des Wiedersehens* can only mean the joy which meeting gives; *Wiedersehens* must be subjective genitive. But sometimes only the context shows whether we have to do with a subjective or an

objective genitive: *das Bedürfnis eines Freundes* may mean the need of a friend, or the need of my friend: I feel the need of a friend; the greatest need of my friend is rest. Yet, on the whole, the genitive of a noun denoting a person is more apt to be a subjective genitive.

It is not possible to cover by any rule the nouns that may or may not govern these genitives. Something depends on convention; a number of nouns followed by an objective genitive in the older dialects are no longer so construed: though we have the compound *Todesfurcht*, we rather say, *die Furcht vor dem Tode* than *die Furcht des Todes*. *Die Furcht Gottes, des Herrn*, and *die Liebe Gottes* are objective genitives sanctified through religious parlance; but we should not naturally say: *die Furcht der Menschen, die Liebe der Menschen*, or even *des Nächsten*, for, *die Furcht vor, die Liebe zu Menschen*.

The objective genitive is most commonly found with nouns corresponding to transitive verbs, particularly nouns of agency in *-er*: *der Gründer der Stadt, der Beschützer der Armen*, even *der Helfer der Armen*, though *helfen* takes a dative. Similarly: *der Fabrikant dieses Artikels, der Heiland der Sünder*, etc. From the last example it appears also how nearly the objective genitive approaches the possessive.

§ 436. On the Position of the Genitive with Nouns. In modern German the genitive depending on a noun either immediately precedes or immediately follows it: *des Vaters Haus: das Haus des Vaters*. In Mhg. a number of other positions were possible, particularly *das Vaters Haus, die Sonnen Uhr, das Sternen Licht, mein Erden Leben*. This position of (1) the article or possessive be-

longing to the governing noun, (2) the dependent genitive, and (3) the governing noun has given rise to a very large number of compounds of the type: *der Sonnenschein*, *das Mondeslicht*, *das Erdenleben*, etc.

3. *The Genitive with Adjectives*

§ 437. **Development of the Construction.** The genitive with adjectives seems to have reached its largest scope in Mhg., being here more freely used than in Ohg. and Gothic on the one side, and Nhg. on the other. In Ohg. adjectives governing a genitive are much more frequently found in the predicate than in the attributive position, and in Nhg. a considerable number of them are used in the predicate only: *ansichtig*, *eingedenk*, *gewahr*, *gewärtig*, *habhaft*, *quitt*, *teilhaftig*, *überdrüssig*, *verlustig*, and also *los* when connected with a genitive; it has been suggested that originally this genitive was more independent, a modifier of the whole predicate: *Er war der Gaben milde*, Ags.: *þrīste synna*: bold as to sin. We can still feel this older relation in some connections: *Er ist des Lebens, der Arbeit müde*, he is tired (because) of life, of work. Gradually noun and adjective formed a closer union, and it was felt that the adjective governed the noun, called for it. Sometimes the combination of noun and adjective developed even into compounds: *geisteskrank*, *herzensgut*, *glaubensstark*, *willensfrei*, *gemütskrank*. In all these combinations the genitive is clearly one of specification, and none of these adjectives now govern a genitive.

§ 438. **Classification of Adjectives with the Genitive.** Considering the suggested origin of the genitive with adjectives, we should hardly expect a clear separation

into classes. *Voll, teilhaftig, mächtig*, have the common meaning of possession: *er ist alles Lobes voll, seiner Sinne mächtig*, etc.; *bar, bloß, bedürftig, benötigt, frei, leer, los, verlustig, ledig, quitt*, denote lack or freeness; here belongs also *zweifelsohne*, a remnant of older usage, according to which *ohne* could govern a genitive; *wert, würdig, schuldig, verdächtig*, are alike in denoting guilt or desert; *überdrüssig, müde, satt*, denote satiety; *begierig* and, now obsolete, *geizig* the opposite; Nhg. *froh*, one of a larger class in Mhg., now stands alone. In Mhg. the genitive was possible in a number of looser relations where it has now become obsolete: *des goldes milte, guotes willen bereit*, and others.

The similarity in meaning enabling us to group the adjectives governing a genitive into categories might seem accidental (cp. § 423), and the categories uncalled for. But that it is this sameness of meaning that calls for the genitive becomes apparent from the fact that a number of words fitting into these categories are not found with the genitive until the Nhg. period. Such are *bedürftig, benötigt*, forming a group with *begierig*; *bewußt, eingedenk, fähig, kundig, sicher*, came in new with an older group of which we still have *gewahr, ansichtig, gewohnt, gewiß; überdrüssig* with *müde, satt*, and others now obsolete.

In the same manner, but to a much larger degree, the Mhg. categories increased as compared with the Ohg., and these as compared with the Gothic.

Many English adjectives synonymous with those governing a genitive in German are similarly construed; cp.: conscious, aware, mindful, envious, stripped, glad, tired, sick, sure *of*, and others.

§ 439. Substitutes for the Genitive with Adjectives.

In this field as in others the genitive is steadily losing ground. A number of adjectives formerly taking the genitive are now always construed differently. Others admit of various constructions besides the genitive; few, if any, still take the genitive exclusively.

Often prepositional combinations have usurped the place; we say *begierig auf* or *nach*, *fähig zu*, *voll von*, *froh über*, *frei von*, *leer von*. *Sicher* with the genitive means sure of, with *vor* it means secure from: *meines Lebens sicher*: *vor dem Feinde sicher*.

In other instances the accusative proved to be a dangerous rival of the genitive. This is probably due to a confusion starting with the neuter pronoun *es*. Orthographically the nominative and accusative *es* were distinguished from the genitive *es*, which is our form. But in speaking the two forms were the same. We now feel that in *ich bin es müde*, *satt*, *überdrüssig*, *zufrieden*, the *es* is in the accusative case, and in analogy we now commonly use the same case with a number of these adjectives: *Das bin ich gewohnt*, *das wirst du gewahr*, *das bin ich los*; with *schuldig* we distinguish: *des Todes*, *des Verbrechens schuldig*: guilty of death, of a crime; but *einen Taler schuldig*: owing a dollar; similarly, *aller Ehren wert* and in compounds, *lesenswert*, *hörenswert*, *sehenswert*, and other infinitives, but *einen Taler wert*.

In the same manner indistinctness of cases caused a change of construction with *voll*. *Ein Korb voll Äpfel* and other similar combinations in which the case was not clearly indicated as a genitive induced expressions such as *ein Eimer voll Wasser*, *ein Topf voll Honig*. A word

may be said in explanation of the odd form *voller* instead of *voll*. In the older stages of the language the predicate adjective was quite commonly inflected. Gradually, however, the uninflected forms gained ground, but not uniformly. In Mhg. an inflected feminine in the predicate was rare, while an adjective with strong masculine inflection in the predicate was still quite common. But just as we do not feel that *selber* is distinctly masculine, or *selbst* distinctly neuter, so these masculine forms in the predicate must have lost their distinct gender significance, because they are rather indiscriminately connected also with feminine and neuter subjects; it became possible to say not only, *der Mann ist voller Schwären*, but also, *die Frau ist voller Bosheit*, *das Kind voller Streiche*. It even seems as if the ending *-er* in *voller* were in a manner felt as an adjectival genitive sign taken over from the following noun. This might also be concluded from the fact that before nouns with an article or adjective modifier with distinct genitive ending the short form *voll* is much more commonly used than *voller*: *Der Baum ist voll Äpfel*, but *voll schöner Äpfel*; also *voller* seems to be more commonly followed by a partitive genitive of the plural than of the singular, which again seems to suggest that the ending *-er* is in some way connected with the genitive plural of the adjective.

4. *The Predicate Genitive*

§ 440. **Use of the Genitive in the Predicate.** The genitive in the predicate is usually related to one of three classes: it is partitive, possessive, or a genitive of characteristic. Sharp lines cannot always be drawn. It is

most frequently found with *sein*, sometimes also with *scheinen* and *werden*. Partitive it is in such expressions as: *Wir sind seines Geschlechts*, but we say now more commonly: *Wir gehören zu* or *sind aus dem Geschlecht*. A possessive genitive we have in: *Die Erde ist des Herrn und was darinnen ist*; but here again we now prefer to say: *Die Erde gehört dem Herrn*. And similarly the genitive of characteristic is supplanted by other constructions. We can still say: *Er ist edlen Geschlechts, feiner Art, hohen Wuchses*, but we prefer to say: *Er ist von* or *aus edlem Geschlecht, von feiner Art, von hohem Wuchs*. Stereotyped remnants of the older usage we have in: *des Todes sein, des Teufels sein; tu, was deines Amtes ist; gutes Muts, guter Zuversicht, guter Dinge, guter Laune, froher Hoffnung, übler Laune, der Absicht, des Willens, der Meinung, der Ansicht sein*, etc. — With a few of these phrases also *werden* may be used: *ändern Sinnes, anderer Ansicht, anderer Überzeugung werden*, and a few others.

5. The Adverbial Genitive

§ 441. **Prevalence of the Adverbial Genitive.** While in all other functions the genitive in Nhg. is less extensively used than in the older periods, it has decidedly gained ground in adverbial relations, so much so that the genitive *-s* is in not a few cases used as an adverbial sign with feminine nouns and with other parts of speech: *nachts, blindlings, mittwochs*, etc. And not a few nouns in the genitive case are now felt really as adverbs rather than as nouns: *abends, morgens, anfangs, flugs, rings, teils*, and many others; in fact, the same tendency of converting nouns into real adverbs is observable even in

Ohg. time. The adverbial genitive is now used as an adverb of time, place, or manner; other uses to which it was formerly put are now obsolete.

§ 442. **The Genitive of Time.** In Gothic the genitive of time is rare; in German it becomes very common from Ohg. down: *dieser Tage, eines schönen Tages, nächster Tage, ganzer vierzehn Tage*. The last example and similar ones denote extent of time; usually the genitive denotes time when; in Nhg. often the idea of repeated or habitual action is present, quite as in English: We meet Tuesdays, which, however, is now felt as the objective plural: *Wir treffen uns Dienstags*; but: We met Tuesday: *wir trafen uns Dienstag*. Yet it is also possible to say: *Dienstags darauf trafen wir uns in der Stadt*: on the Tuesday following we met in the city, though some grammarians object to this use of the genitive, and it is, at all events, quite as common to say in such connections: *am Dienstag darauf*.

Also genitive forms of a number of adjectives are used in the function of temporal adverbs: *einst* = *once* (older ones), *längst, unlängst*, all with inorganic *t* (cp. English colloquial *oncet, acrost*, etc.), *stets, öfters, bereits*.

§ 443. **The Genitive of Place.** The Gothic, again, has very few examples of a genitive of place, and these denote rather destination with verbs of motion. In Old Saxon, too, it is not a live, growing construction. In Ohg. it spreads somewhat, but it is in all periods confined to certain phrases: *geh deines Weges, seines Pfades gehen*; also in the plural, *seiner Straßen ziehen*. In a few set phrases the genitive is used with verbs not of motion: *aller Enden, aller Orten, des Orts, gelegenen Orts*,

linker Hand. *Anderwärts, talwärts, allerwegen, allerwärts*, are now purely adverbs. The adverbial *-s*, hardly the genitive *-s*, is used in *diesseits* and other compounds with *-seits, unterwegs* or *unterwegens*; i.e., not until the genitive *-s* had degenerated into a mere adverbial sign was it added to these forms, though they are as derivatives from feminine nouns not entitled to it. (Cp. § 207.)

With verbs of motion, such as *gehen, fahren, ziehen, kommen, wandern*, and others, either the adverbial genitive or accusative is used, and the difference in meaning cannot always be sharply defined. Discriminating speakers and writers are likely to designate with an accusative of space the entire distance to be covered; with a genitive, rather the direction: *Fort! wandle deine fürchterliche Straße* (Tell), i.e., finish the course in which you have started; but: *Geh deines Weges*: move on. Similarly we should say: *Die Gestirne wandern ihren vorgeschriebenen Lauf*, not *ihres Laufs*. Nevertheless, the distinction is not always observed, and there are, besides, local differences. In the North, where the dialects have lost the genitive entirely, the accusative occupies a wider field in this construction.

§ 444. **The Genitive of Manner, or the Modal Genitive.** In this category are combined genitives in a variety of slightly different meanings, but all more or less loosely modifying the meaning of the predicate: *Er ist seines Zeichens ein Schneider, seines Herkommens ein Bauernsohn, des Handwerks Teppichmacher, seines Berufs ein Arzt*, etc. Contrary to ordinary usage regarding nouns denoting a calling, they take in these combinations the indefinite article.

The manner of the action expressed in the verb is often denoted by a genitive with an adjective, formerly with strong, now more commonly with weak inflection: *Er eilt schnellen Laufs, geht leisen Schrittes, ruhigen Ganges*. Schiller and Goethe still quite frequently use the strong form of the adjective; Schiller has: *wildes Laufes, volles Herzens*, and other instances. We still say, *alles* or *allen Ernstes*, but *festen Trittens, leichten Kaufs*.

A looser relation is denoted by such phrases as: *meines Wissens, meines Dafürhaltens, meines Ermessens, Bedünkens, Erachtens*, and a few others. They approach parenthetical phrases. Other genitives, though to be ranked as adverbial, are in closer relation to the subject: *des festen Vorsatzes, heiteren Blickes, ernsten Willens*, also *alles Ernstes, gesenkten Hauptes, lachenden Angesichts*, etc.

Not a few of these combinations have become real adverbs, particularly many compounds with *-maßen, -weise, -art*: *verdientermaßen, billigerweise, solcherart, allenfalls, allerdings*, etc. Similarly also simple genitives without accompanying adjectives: *flugs, stracks, sporenstreichs, namens, zwecks*, etc.

A sort of absolute genitive was formerly common with *während*; Lessing still uses: *währendes Krieges, während der Mahlzeit*, and Goethe: *während der Arbeit*; these combinations have developed into: *während des Krieges, während der Mahlzeit*. We regard *während* as a preposition. A genitive of cause, formerly particularly common in the form of *des*, remains in one combination where it is hardly recognized: *desto* from older *des diu*.

An odd genitive we have with *spielen* in *Versteckens*

spielen. Formerly *spielen* was commonly followed by a genitive. The origin of the construction is not clear.

With *sterben* the genitive sometimes approaches that of cause: *Hungers sterben*, *Alters sterben*; but *eines langsamen Todes sterben*. Besides, this genitive is confined to a few set phrases. We cannot say, *der Schwindsucht sterben*, but *an der Schwindsucht sterben*.

§ 445. **Genitive Losing Ground.** In general it must be said that the genitive is being crowded out, in adverbial relations, by prepositional constructions, particularly in the dialects, both of the North and of the South.

III. The Adjective

§ 446. **Its Declensions.** In Latin and Greek and other Indo-Germanic languages the adjective has, in the main, the same declensions as the various classes of nouns. The Germanic languages are peculiar in having developed two new declensions for the adjective: one, the strong, largely agreeing with that of the demonstrative pronoun; the other, the weak, the same as that of weak nouns. Only in the so-called uninflected form scholars see a remnant of an older substantive declension, which, owing to the shifting of the stress, lost its ending.

§ 447. **Use of the Various Forms in Attributive Function in Mhg.** These three declensional forms, the strong, the weak, and the so-called uninflected, never quite agreed in their functions. But their spheres were not as strictly kept apart in the older dialects as they are now, and they were, moreover, subject to different rules in different periods.

In Gothic and Ohg., attributive adjectives, without an accompanying article or pronominal, could either precede or follow their nouns. But quite contrary to our modern feeling, the attributive adjective was usually uninflected when preceding its noun, and inflected strong when following: *guot man*, but *man guoter*, *golt scînentaz*; but also: *ja bin ich smâher scalc thîn*: for I am thy lowly servant. The uninflected adjective now seldom precedes its noun except in popular speech and poetry, and then only if the noun is neuter: *alt Eisen*, *baar Geld*, *kalt Wasser*. Occasionally we find in poetic diction similar short forms before masculines: *Lieb Knabe*, *bist mein* (Tell). *War einst ein Riese Goliath*, *ein gar gefährlich Mann* (Claudius). *Jung Siegfried war ein stolzer Knab*, etc. This older usage is reflected also in our *Junker*, *Jungfrau*, *Jungfer*, from older *junc herre*, *junc frouwe*; also in *Liebfrauenkirche* and other compounds with *Liebfrauen-*, for the uninflected form of the adjective was used in the oblique cases also, as here in the genitive.

Quite early a good deal of confusion with regard to the various inflectional forms becomes apparent, until in Mhg. almost any combination is possible, though the different forms are not in all positions used with equal frequency. We find the attributive adjective in the *uninflected* form, alone or with the definite or indefinite article or with some demonstrative pronoun, before the noun or after the noun, in any case of the singular or the plural, though it is most common in the nominative singular, masculine, feminine, and neuter, and the accusative singular, neuter. The following examples, a very few from very many, may illustrate these possibilities. All the

forms are actually found (Weinhold, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, § 508 ff.).

a. *Uninflected Form without Article, before the Noun.* Nominative: *grôz jâmer*, *valsche geloube*; *guot geselleschaf*, *grôz sælde*, *grôz müede*; *guot gedinge*, *snel ors*, *sîdin hemde*. Vocative: *guot ritter*, *trût geselle*; *edel marcgrâvîn*, *edel vrouwe guot*; *guot swert*, *liep sælic wîp*. Similarly the uninflected adjective is used in all the other cases.

b. *Several Attributive Adjectives.* When several adjectives accompany the same noun, usually some are inflected, others not: *junc sîezer man*; *junc vlætich sîezer man*; *ûz rôet getriuwem munde*; *zornec ellenthaftez her*; *werltlich unde tumber site*, in which case *werltlich* and *tumber* are genitives of the plural, *site* being a strong masculine. Schiller and Goethe revived this usage: *in gut und bösen Tagen*; *mein gütig freundliches Geschick*; *an seinem furchtbar ungeheuren Dasein*; also: *alles würdig Herrliche*, which it would be better to print with *würdig* capitalized; similarly: *etwas unglücklich*, *Unersetzliches*, better *Unglücklich* with a capital; numerous other examples might be found both in Goethe and Schiller.

c. *Uninflected Adjectives after Demonstratives, Possessives, Definite and Indefinite Articles:* *dis* (for more common *dise*) *guot gesellen* (nominative plural); *ein alt herzoge*, *ein swach sîn*, *ein edel man*; *ein übel vart*, *ein guldîn krône*; *ein starc sper*; *ein stolz werder man*; *ein betriëbeter alt mensche*, *ein schoeniu wolgezietet heide*; *ein grôz clâr spiegel*; also occasionally with the indefinite article between the adjective and the noun: *wert wolgemuot ein man*, *lieht ein spiegel*, etc.; cp. English, *so good a man*, etc. The uninflected adjective stands with the definite article either be-

fore or after the noun: *der wâr heilant; der bluotec sweiz; diu grôz unstæte, diu verborren gotheit, dem schalkhaft gouch, des vil heiligeistes = heilig geistes*; more commonly the adjective alone after the noun: *der kûnec rîch, ein sturm hart, diu heide rôt, daz golt rôt, daz wîp schône; deme junc-herren guot, ûf dem helme hôch*, and in all other cases. If several adjectives thus follow they are either both inflected, as: *sun lieber unde guoter*, or both uninflected: *der knappe tump unde wert*, or one inflected, the other not: *ein man aldir unde grîs, creatiuren zam und wilden*.

d. *Attributes Preceding and Following the Noun*. Here again we have a good deal of variation, as: *ein sneller helt guot, des heizen bluotes rot, dem edelen keiser zart*; or *manegen biz tiefen, ein liechten roc vesten*. This is less common. But quite frequently found is the uninflected form both before and after the noun: *manic edel rîter wert, barmherzic muoter ûzerkorn*. Of these the most common are the first group, the adjective preceding the noun inflected, that following it, uninflected.

e. *The Inflected Forms after Pronouns*. After personal pronouns, both strong and weak adjectives are found, more commonly the strong: *ich armez wîp, we mir armer meide*; but also weak: *ich arme tôre, ich arme mensche; mir armen wîbe*, etc. After possessives, both weak and strong forms occur; also after the demonstrative *diser*: *diser heiliger man, diz jâmerlîchez wort*; but weak: *dises hôhen gruozes, in disem herten strîte*, etc.

. After the indefinite article the strong form was more common in all cases, but occasionally also weak forms occur: *ein alter jegere, eines sîezes slâfes, in einem schoenem brunnen, mit einem starkem swerte*, etc. Adjectives

used as nouns, however, are usually weak whether accompanied by an article or not: *ein blinde, ein tôte, ein heilige*; plural, *heiligen, siechen*, etc.

f. *Adjectives after the Definite Article.* After the definite article the adjective is, as a rule, weak; but, in Mhg. particularly, strong forms occur frequently, both following and preceding the noun: *der herre guoter, der wirt rîcher*; but also, *der listiger man, der rîcher küninc, diu vil schoeniu meit, daz listigez wîp; des ganzes apfels, des lebendiges gotes, der zarter küneginne; dem almahtigem gote, dem miltem künege*, etc.

g. *Adjectives with the Vocative.* In the vocative, Gothic used weak adjective forms exclusively, Ohg. generally. But in Mhg. the strong adjective gains ground, particularly in the singular. In the plural weak forms were still more common. Hence we have also in Nhg. *lieben Freunde* as well as *liebe Freunde*.

§ 448. **The Predicate Adjective in Mhg.** In Mhg. as in Nhg. the predicate adjective in the nominative singular and plural is regularly uninflected, but inflected forms do not at all infrequently occur: *er wart gesunder; die wîl ir muot ist sô lazzer; alsam ez vollez balsmen sî*; for *voller* in *er war voller Schmerzen und Krankheit* and similar combinations, see § 439.

The predicate adjective in the accusative case seems more commonly to be inflected than uninflected in Mhg.: *er sach in bluotes rôten; als si mich wolgemuoten sehent; wanne sâhen wir dich hungerein, alde durstegin, alder nachenden, alder siechen*.

§ 449. **New Criterion in Nhg.** From the preceding sections it is apparent that for Mhg. it is well-nigh impos-

sible to formulate any rules governing the use of the various adjective inflections. Significant for us is the fact that the purely formal considerations now governing it are of more modern date. But even the Mhg. lawlessness does not represent the original stage. A somewhat greater regularity, at any rate, seems to prevail in Gothic and Ohg., yet even here it is not possible sharply to distinguish as to the inherent meaning of the various forms. This much seems established: The weak inflection was originally used to convert adjectives into nouns, i.e., to individualize, to attach the abstract quality to a concrete bearer. The later regular combination of the weak form with the demonstrative pronoun (eventually developing into the article) was not accidental; the individualizing function of the weak adjective was re-enforced by a similar meaning inherent in the demonstrative. Because of a kindred individualizing meaning, ordinal numerals and the superlative of adjectives, in Anglo-Saxon as well as in the old German dialects and in Gothic, are usually inflected weak only, less regularly the comparative. As a rule adjectives used as nouns, either with or without the article, are weak; also adjectives combined with some noun to form a proper name, as *Hohenems*, *Hohenberg*, *Lengenfeld*, *Neuenburg*, *Altenburg*, all dative forms; also *Schönnewald*, *Schöneberg*, etc. Participles are not so easily transferred to the category of nouns. The verbal quality is too prominent, and in so far as the present participle might be used to designate an individual as an agent, it comes into competition with the regular nouns of agency. There was, accordingly, not much occasion to make nouns of them, and probably on that account they are rarely weak.

Today all this has been obliterated, except as the older usage is perpetuated in isolated forms that did not conform to the general custom. To these belong the names of places mentioned above; then, also, many proper names formed from adjectives, which are to this day often weak, though strong forms have appeared: *Braune*, *Weisse*, *Schwarze*: *Schwarz*, *Weise*: *Weiser*, *Ruge*, *Starke*: *Stark*, *Schöne*: *Schön*, etc. Also *Fürst* and *Herr*, now weak nouns, were once weak adjectives, the one an ordinal, or rather a superlative, corresponding to our 'first,' the other a comparative meaning, 'the elder'; similarly, *der Junge*, *ein Junge*, preserves the old form. *Selbzwweit*, *selbdritt*, etc., reflect the older custom of having the ordinals weak, going back to *selbe dritte*, *selbe vierte*; but that their form is no longer felt as standard appears from Lessing's *selbzwanzigster* and others with strong inflection.

The *strong* forms, part pronominal, part substantival, which are commonly supposed to have taken the place of the older substantival endings of the adjective, parallel to those in Greek and Latin, were naturally adapted to put the adjective into agreement with nouns, for they were the same as the endings of either the nouns themselves or of the demonstratives that might accompany the nouns. Hence the frequency of strong endings when the adjective is used attributively.

The *uninflected* form, the only sure remnant of the substantival declension, became more and more prevalent in the predicate; why, is not altogether clear. But it has been plausibly suggested that the old substantival declension of the adjective, while displaced in the other cases by pronominal forms, or coinciding with them, was as a

nominative or neuter accusative preserved distinct in the predicate position because these two cases were unique in being almost the only ones used in the predicate. The uninflected predicate adjective may have been re-enforced by the form of the predicate noun. For in the nominative and accusative, the cases used predicatively, nouns, like the predicate adjective, often had no distinct endings. Well might their influence have helped to uphold in the adjective a form similar to their own, until it had become so well established in the predicate, that the new forms coming in could not displace it, though in other connections they prevailed.

In New High German pretty definite tendencies gradually developed. Just what was instrumental in bringing about the change is hard to say. But when the various adjective declensions had discontinued to have each its definite meaning and function, merely formal considerations were more apt to play their part. Early a tendency is observable to avoid similar endings in adjoining words, or an accumulation of adjectives with the same ending. Thus the juxtaposition of a demonstrative or the article with adjectives having the same ending as they was avoided, as *dem gutem*, *der guter*, particularly when the article became so empty of content, that it was often merely a sign of case or gender. In adjective endings similar to those of the article, the article or its function was thought to be unnecessarily repeated. Schottelius, a grammarian of the middle of the seventeenth century (quoted by Wunderlich), lays down the rule: "Ein guter Mann, der gute Mann. Die Ursache dieser Regel ist, weil man das Geschlechte des Nennwortes

stracks anfanges aus dem Geschlechtsworte (notice the significance of the name) der die das abnehmen kann. Zum anderen, weil durch die oftmalige Wiederholung des 'r' und 's' die Wörter scheinen etwas hartlautend zu werden." A few pages later he says: "Es wird das Geschlechtswort öftermals also übergangen, daß die Endung, oder letzter Buchstab desselben, hinten an sein folgendes Hauptwort gesetzt werde, und wird also das Nennwort oder Mittelwort verändert in die Endung des ausgelassenen Geschlechtswortes." For him the article was apparently merely a sign of gender, which had to find expression in the ending of the adjective if the article was omitted. That is in all essentials the rule governing the use of the weak and strong adjective declension in modern German: The adjective is strong if not preceded by a form of the article or some pronominal distinct as to gender or case; otherwise it is weak. The specific rules for the use of strong and weak forms may be found in any grammar. Usage is not altogether settled to this day. The following cases call for consideration.

a. In the vocative without a preceding personal pronoun we have, in accordance with the general rule, strong forms in the singular: *lieber Freund*, *gutes Mädchen*, *arme Mutter*. Contrary to the present rule, but reflecting older usage, we often, though not commonly, have weak forms in the plural: *liebe Freunde* or *lieben Freunde*; *gute* or *guten Leute*.

b. There is wavering also after personal pronouns. After *ich*, *du*, *er*, we have regularly strong forms: *ich armer*, *elender Mensch*; *du lieber Mann*; the third person is rarely thus used, except in address: *er dummer Kerl*,

otherwise rather: *der dumme Kerl*. But after *wir, ihr*, we usually have weak forms: *Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte*. After the dative singular of the personal pronoun the masculine is usually strong, occasionally weak; the feminine usually weak: *mir armem* (or *armen*) *Mann, dir törichtem Schwätzer*, etc., but: *weh mir armen Frau*; yet also, *weh mir armem* or *armen Weibe*. After the plurals *wir, ihr*, the weak adjective seems the more common: *wir alten Juristen, wir jungen Grammatiker, ihr jungen Anfänger*; but also, *wir Deutsche* or *Deutschen*. Not infrequently the same author wavers: *wir jungen Leute: wir junge Gesellen* (Goethe). After *mich, dich*, we have only strong forms, usually also after the accusatives *uns, euch*. If the pronouns are expressly separated from the following nouns, the accompanying adjectives are strong: *ihr holden Frauen*; but *ihr, holde Frauen, helfet mir*.

c. In accordance with Schottel's rule, according to which the ending *s* in successive words is offensive, the strong form of the adjective before masculine and neuter genitives singular ending in *s* gradually gave way to the weak adjective ending. In the seventeenth century the strong form was here universally used. Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe use weak or strong adjectives in this connection, apparently without any discrimination: *wildes Laufs: muntern Laufs; stehendes* or *stehenden Fußes*. Pronominal adjectives, on the other hand, and some other words they inflect strong: *jedes Winks, anderes Sinnes, solchen Tages*; also, *gestriges, heutiges, folgendes Tages*. With the exception of a few isolated combinations, as *reines Herzens, gutes Mutes*, and a few others, the weak

adjective is now the rule, as *edlen Sinnes*, *leichten Kaufs*, *treuen Herzens*, *leichten Herzens*, etc. Pronominal adjectives in similar position are strong as a rule: *solches Mannes*, *alles Ernstes*, besides *allen Ernstes*; but also *solchen*, *welchen*, *jeden*, *manchen*, *vielen*, *allen*, seem to grow more and more common as genitive forms before masculine and neuter genitives in *s*. The possessives, again, are always strong: *meines Wissens*, etc.

d. After the plurals *solche*, *welche*, *manche*, *viele*, *wenige*, *mehrere*, *einige*, *etliche*, *beide*, *andere*, weak and strong forms are about equally common in the nominative and accusative plural: *viele große* or *viele großen Männer*, etc. Here also, if anything, the weak forms are gaining ground; in the genitive plural they are the rule; in the dative plural weak and strong forms are alike: genitive, *so vieler guten Menschen*; dative, *so vielen guten Menschen*, etc.

Similarly also the plurals of a number of other adjectives and participial adjectives approaching pronominals in function and meaning are followed by other adjectives ordinarily declined strong, but not infrequently also weak. Such are *einzelne*, *gewisse*, *obige*, *vorige*, *frühere*, *letzte*, *erstere*, *weitere*, *derartige*, *zahlreiche*, *sämtliche*, *öftere*, *sonstige*, *verschiedene*; also *folgende*, *nachstehende*, *vorstehende*, *vorliegende*, *besagte*, and others: *weitere böse* or *bösen Erfahrungen*; *einzelne charakteristische* or *charakteristischen Merkmale*, etc.

e. Two or more regular descriptive adjectives preceding a noun are regularly inflected alike, all strong or all weak, following the regular rule. But the tendency to avoid similar endings in successive adjectives led occasionally to the adoption of a weak form for all but the

first adjective if no pronominal preceded, until grammarians, overzealous to find distinctions, formulated the rule that any adjective so closely connected with a noun as to form a unit with it should be inflected weak. Thus *französischer roter Wein* is said to be equivalent to *französischer Rotwein*, and *roter* accordingly should be weak, *rote*. But distinctions of that sort are not made in actual, natural speech, and the rule should be disregarded. Nevertheless, dissimilation in the endings of successive adjectives is not uncommon in good Nhg. writers of various periods: *eine Sammlung vorzüglicher geographischen Blätter* (Goethe); *bei starkem widrigen Winde* (Seume); *bei altem guten Wein* (Uhland), and others.

f. Adjectives used as nouns when accompanied by adjective modifiers are ordinarily treated quite like regular adjectives: *ein armer Kranker, der arme Kranke, armer Kranker*, etc. But exceptions occur; Goethe has: *Eine Feier deutscher Studierender*, but also: *die Bemühungen deutscher Gottesgelehrten*. The word *Gottesgelehrte* was for him a noun more in the real sense, and lost its adjectival declension. Similar weak forms are particularly common in the case of neuter adjective nouns: *ein neues Äußere* or *Äußeres*; *ein hübsches Ganze* or *Ganzes*. The more nearly the substantival adjective, of masculines as well as neuters, approaches a real noun, the more apt is it to be weak; Lessing: *ein ehrwürdiger Alte* (cp. *Junge* for boy); *spielende Kinder sind kleine Wilden* (though now more commonly *kleine Wilde*).

IV. The Adverb

§ 450. The Adverb in Relation to other Parts of Speech. The adverb is pre-eminently a modifier of the verb, in

much the same way as the adjective is a modifier of the noun. But in no period of the Indo-Germanic languages was it confined to this function. Not a small number of adverbs, in German and other languages, are nouns, adjectives, pronominals, although grown unrecognizable as such, e.g., *heute* < *hiu tagu*, on this day; *morgen*, *morgens*, *abends*, and others.

In no period of the German language has the adverb been clearly separated from the other parts of speech. Most frequently it encroaches upon the adjective, and particularly in Nhg., where almost any uninflected adjective can be used as an adverb, it is often not easily determined whether we have to do with one or the other. In English, too, in spite of our adverbial ending *-ly*, we can often be reasonably in doubt whether a form, even with the characteristic ending, is an adverb or an adjective. Thus we say commonly: *I arrived safely*, but: *I arrived safe and sound*. If we consider the meaning of *arrive*, the adverbial form really has little to recommend itself in this sentence, and it may well be that not a few so-called adverbs in *-ly* are but survivals of an older period, when almost any adjective could add the ending *-ly*, much the same as we have in German, side by side, with no great difference in meaning, *gut*: *gütig*: *gütlich*, or even in English *good*: *goodly*: *kind*: *kindly*, and possibly a few others.

Similarly the borderline between the adverb and the noun is obscure. In German we capitalize *des Abends*, etc., indicating that we consider this genitive as a noun, but we deny the capital to *abends*, *tags*, *von stund an*, and other similar forms, because they are thought of as

adverbs; indeed, the official manual of spelling gives the rule that if in similar forms doubt is entertained as to whether they are nouns or adverbs, the capital shall be withheld, i.e., the word is to be considered an adverb.

Down through the Mhg. period adverbs derived from adjectives had a characteristic ending, in Gothic *-ba* or *-ô*, in Ohg. *-ô* only. As many of these adjectives ended in *-i*, causing mutation in the stem, while in the adverb this *-i* was dropped, an additional difference between many adjectives and adverbs was the presence of mutation in the adjective, but the absence of it in the adverb. This older difference survives in but a few couplets, no longer commonly recognized as belonging together: *fest*, *fast*; *schön*, *schon*. (Cp. § 90.)

In Mhg. the adverbial ending *-ô*, as well as the adjectival *-i*, had uniformly become *-e*. Hence the only difference between the respective adjectives and adverbs was the mutation of the stem-vowel in the adjective, in so far as mutation was possible: *sanfte*, *senfte*; *harte*, *herte*; *faste*, *feste*, etc. But in a number of instances the two were quite identical in form: *kleine*, *kleine* and many forms of more than two syllables: *edele*: *edele*, etc. In the case of other adverbs the ending *-e* disappeared in accordance with regular sound laws, and these, too, became like adjectives. This frequent lack of distinction, arising in Mhg. times on account of the leveling of vowels in final syllables, brought into prominence, for a time, the adverbial ending *-liche*, which in English and the Norse languages spread over the entire field and acquired almost exclusively adverbial function. Originally the ending was used to form adjectives from other adjectives and also from

other parts of speech. The original difference in meaning between the simple adjective and its derivative is in a manner preserved in our English *good* and *goodly*. The simple adjective was used in its real, inherent sense; the derivative in *-lich*, in accordance with its probable etymology (cp. § 189), denoted a quality partaking of the nature of, *like* the one denoted in the simple adjective. Compare our colloquial: *It seems cold-like* and numerous similar formations. But adjectives pre-eminently denote qualities found in objects. Hence in Ohg. adjectives in *-lich* are most commonly found with abstract nouns, and it is apparent why they should have suggested themselves for use as adverbs. In German, however, the adverbs in *-liche* never gained exclusive vogue, though to this day we have a number of words in *-lich* used as adverbs only: *bitterlich*, *böslich*, *fälschlich*, *völlig*, *freilich*, *kürzlich*, *wahrlich*, and others. They are sometimes used as attributive adjectives, indeed, but only with nouns whose kinship with verbs is still clearly felt: *der neuliche Besuch*, *die säuberliche Abschrift*, etc. Side by side with the adverbs in *-liche* continued the older type, which, owing to frequent similarity, quite lawful as we saw, led in time to a complete disregard of all distinction between the uninflected adjective and the adverb. And when any ordinary adjective could be used as an adverb, collateral forms with *-lich* were felt as superfluous, and the suffix was again largely deprived of its adverbial function.

§ 451. **The Adverb Infringing in its Functions on other Parts of Speech.** The adverb is regularly used as a modifier of verbs, of adjectives, and of other adverbs, sometimes also of prepositions: *Der Park ist nahe bei der*

Stadt. It denotes ordinarily time, or place, or manner, or degree; also cause or reason; condition or contingency; concession, purpose, means, material, and modality; i.e., a general expression of the attitude of the speaker to his utterance, or of the manner in which it is to be received. Details of the meaning of individual adverbs belong rather in the dictionary.

Outside of its own ordinary functions, the adverb often serves in the functions of other parts of speech.

a. *Adverbs in Adjectival Function*. It is not surprising that in Nhg., all distinction in form between the adjective and its adverbial derivative having been obliterated, not only words formerly used as adjectives only, as *gut*, should have acquired adverbial use, but also adverbs are used in functions ordinarily served by the adjective, though commonly in the predicate only: *Wir arbeiten umsonst*, but also: *Unsere Mühe ist vergebens, umsonst; das Lied ist aus; die Tür ist zu; er ist dafür, dagegen*. In expressions like: *Er ist hin, ich muß hin*, it is commonly thought that some verb of motion is omitted. While this was probably the origin of such combinations, they are now felt as in themselves complete, just as *das Lied ist aus*. It is to be noticed that most of these adverbs can be used in the predicate only, though in the dialects some are used attributively too: *die zue Tür, der durche Käse* (= well-ripened cheese).

Particularly local and temporal adverbs are frequently found attributively, but following their noun: *der Helfer droben; den Tag darauf; die Felsen gegenüber*, and others, just as in English: *the home above, the mountain yonder, the discussion yesterday*, etc. As a real attribute to a

noun, and yet in its own form and function, an adverb is connected with nouns derived from adjectives or verbs whenever their adjectival or verbal quality is to be emphasized: *der ungestüm Mahnende, der ewig Selige, das undurchdringlich Dunkle*; but, with a slight difference in meaning: *ein nah Verwandter* and *ein naher Verwandter, die zärtlich Geliebte*, but *die zärtliche Geliebte*, etc.

b. *In Substantive Function.* As any other part of speech, so also the adverb can be used as a noun: *Das Dort wird niemals Hier*; yet this is nothing peculiar to the adverb as compared with other words. Peculiar is the use of *so, wie, also*, in taking the place of pronouns or nouns after verbs of thinking or communicating. Compare our: *Thus saith the Lord; denn seht, ich denke so: wenn an das Gute*, etc.; *so spricht der Herr; also sprach Zarathustra; wie liesest du?* In all these cases not the manner of speaking, etc., is to be indicated, but the content anticipated.

V. The Pronoun

§ 452. *Nature of the Pronouns.* Pronouns we call a collection of form words without any real content of their own, all characterized by serving as substitutes for names of persons or objects, or for the content of some clause or phrase. While all agree thus far, it is possible to distinguish a number of classes either because of a difference in syntactic function, or because of some difference in meaning. Thus the demonstrative, and not so very infrequently also the personal pronoun, are either accompanied by gestures pointing out the objects to which they refer, and are then said to be deictic, or they

stand for objects or ideas already referred to, when they are called anaphoric. The reflexive pronoun, on the other hand, as to meaning quite identical with the personal, is used in certain syntactic relations only. Similarly the definite article, a degenerated demonstrative, grew out of the adjectival function of its ancestor, which in another function developed into the conjunction *daß*.

It is not the purpose of this treatise to give in minute detail all the diversified meanings of the various pronouns, but rather to trace the steps by which they acquired their present position. We distinguish the pronouns as personal, reflexive, demonstrative, relative, interrogative, and indefinite. The definite article properly joins them, and brings in its train also the indefinite article.

1. Agreement of the Pronouns

a. In Number

§ 453. **Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives.** Some of the pronouns are used either in adjective or in substantive function; i.e., they either accompany a noun: this man, *dieser Mann*; what man, *welcher Mann*; jedes Kind, etc.; or they really represent a noun: he, *er*; who, *wer* or *der*; *dieser*, *jener*, etc. When used as adjectives they agree as to their inflectional endings with the noun they accompany in case, number, and gender. In the case of the possessive adjectives the form of the stem is determined as to gender and number by the antecedent to which they refer: *sein Vater*, *ihrem Vater*; *ihre Mutter*, *seiner Mutter*; *unser Haus*, *eure Eltern*, etc.

Pronouns representing nouns, i.e., pronouns used in

the function of a substantive, generally agree with their antecedent in gender and number, while their case is determined by the function they serve in their own sentence. But the agreement with the antecedent is not infrequently disturbed, both in regard to gender and number.

§ 454. **Singular Collective Nouns Followed by Plural Pronouns.** *a.* Collective nouns denote an aggregation of individuals, and it involves but a slight shifting of the view-point to make it conceivable that pronouns referring to them might be put in the plural, and that they should be followed by plural verbs: *das Volk: sie, das Gesindel: sie;* similarly *the mob, the throng, the multitude,* and others. Occasionally, probably in every language, plural pronouns refer to such nouns. Plural verbs are less common, but the English does not shrink from this step either: *the people are; the committee have decided,* etc. In modern German this is not customary. Only after a noun having in general the nature of a more or less definite numeral and followed by a plural noun in apposition or in the genitive, is the verb found in the plural: *Es waren eine Menge Menschen da. Das edle Geschlecht derer von Schleinitz führen in ihrem Erbwappen drei Rosen. Ein Dutzend frische Eier kosten or kostet,* etc. The genitive, now commonly supplanted by a noun in apposition, was down through the Mhg. period the rule. Where it is now used the verb is generally in the singular, though the plural also occurs.

In Mhg. grammatical agreement in number was not so carefully observed. Incongruities, as seen in the following sentences, were not altogether uncommon: . . . *manegen gast, die (plural) sie ouch gerne sâhen. Allez ir*

gesinde klagete (singular) *mit ir* (plural) *lieben frouwen*. *Sus fuor* (singular) *die wëgelôse diet, als in ir* (plural) *gemüete riet*. And also Luther has: *Das Volk, so ihren Gott kennen, werden sich ermannen*. Similar incongruities in modern authors are not common, and if they occur they are felt as mistakes to be avoided.

b. The indefinite numeral, as *viel, mehr, wenig, genug*, when followed by a plural noun, either in apposition or in the genitive, takes a plural verb and a plural pronoun: *Es sind ihm wenig frohe Tage beschieden, die . . .* etc. *Der Worte sind genug gewechselt. Im Wein ertrinken mehr Menschen als im Wasser*. Down through the Mhg. period the verb was commonly put in the singular after these indefinite numeral substantives, but pronouns referring to the nouns following were usually put in the plural: *Der heiligen ist vil, die. . . . Hei, was da guoter knehte gefellet wart*. *Viel* and *wenig* are now more commonly used as attributive adjectives and inflected as such: *Es waren viele, wenige Menschen da, mit vielen Freunden*, etc. *Mehr* and *genug* are similarly construed but not inflected.

§ 455. **Neuter Singular Pronoun, Plural Verb, and Predicate Noun.** In German as in English the form of the verb usually agrees with the subject in number and person, even where there is a discrepancy with a predicate noun or pronoun in this respect: *Du bist mir Vater und Mutter, Eltern und Geschwister. Vater und Mutter sind mir nicht mehr als du*. Only if either the subject or the predicate is a pronoun of the first or second person, the verb agrees with the pronoun: *Mein Lehrer war ein weiser, erfahrener Mann, dein Lehrer bin ich, sein Lehrer bist du*, though in every case *Lehrer* is the subject. Simi-

larly in English: My teacher was a wise, experienced man, your teacher am I, his teacher are you.

If a first person forms a compound subject with a second or third, or both, the form of the verb is the first plural; if second person combines thus with a third, the form of the verb is the second plural: *Du und ich (wir) sind verantwortlich; du und er (ihr) seid verantwortlich; ich und er (wir) sind verantwortlich.*

English violates this general rule of agreement with the pronoun of the first or second person in the expression: *This is I (me), you*, etc., making the verb agree with the subject, while German in this case also puts it in agreement with the pronoun of the first or second person: *ich bin es, das bin ich, das seid ihr*, etc. This frequently involves not only a discrepancy as to person, but also, as in the last instance given, incongruence in number: *das sind wir, wir sind es*: it is we (us); *seid ihr es?* is it you? The place of *es, das*, may also be taken by *dies, solches, was, welches, alles, das Erste, das Letzte, beides, das Meiste, das Beste*, and a few other combinations: *Das Gefährlichste sind seine mächtigen Freunde*: the most dangerous thing are his mighty friends. *Was ehrliche Mörder sind, werden dich nicht unter sich dulden.*

Other verbs besides *sein* in similar construction are sometimes in the singular: *Was mir als gute Geschäftsregeln erscheint*: what seems to me like good business principles.

b. Incongruence in Gender

§ 456. **Construction According to Sense.** Neuter nouns denoting persons are frequently referred to by pronouns in agreement not with the grammatical gender, but rather

with the natural sex of the persons. Most frequently with the neuter nouns, *Weib*, *Fräulein*, *Mädchen* (*Frauenzimmer*), this construction according to sense, also called Synesis of Gender, takes place: *Jenes Mädchen ist's, das vertriebene, die du gewählt hast. Das alte Weib leugnete hartnäckig, daß sie eine Hexe sei. Er half dem Fräulein in ihren Wagen.* Examples are numerous. Similarly other diminutives, as *Knäblein*, *Töchterlein*, *Mütterlein*, and others of a like nature are construed. Pronouns referring to other designations of persons also show the natural gender: *Exzellenz schilderten uns hier einen seiner schönen Gärten. Mein Schatz gab mir einen Ring, zum Zeichen, daß sie mir treu ist. Jenes leichtfertige Wesen konnte mit ihm machen, was sie wollte. Ich habe mein feins Liebchen so lange nicht gesehn: ich sah sie gestern abend wohl vor der Haustür stehn.* The more distinctly the idea of sex finds expression in a neuter noun, the more readily a pronoun of natural gender finds admission. Thus we refer to *Fräulein* and *Mädchen*, being much less felt as diminutives of neuter gender than as designations of female beings, much more commonly with feminine pronouns, than we do with masculine ones to *Knäblein* or *Männlein*. These are distinctly diminutives and therefore neuter. For similar reasons, probably, masculine or feminine pronouns refer much more commonly to the neuter *Kind* in the older stages of the language than now, though they still occur thus: *Bin ein armes Kind, deren Augen ausgeglommen. Also treff ich einen meiner Kinder* (Klopstock). In Mhg. the word designated not only what it does now, but any young person, particularly young women, much as our legal "infant."

2. The Various Classes of Pronouns

a. *The Personal Pronoun*

§ 457. **Significance of the Name.** Personal pronouns we call not only the pronouns of the first and second persons, which from their nature in most cases actually represent persons (the speaker and some person spoken to) but also that of the third person with forms for neuter as well as for masculine and feminine nouns, and quite as frequently representing objects or ideas as persons. And yet the forms of the third person, too, are not as freely used for things as for persons. Thus we have usually for a dative or accusative, singular or plural, when governed by certain prepositions, compounds in which a demonstrative form takes the place of the personal pronoun if it refers to some thing or idea: *die Tugend: daran, danach; der Hammer: damit, dafür*, etc. But if the pronoun refers to some person the regular personal form is used: *das Kind ist krank, ich will mit ihm* (not *damit*) *zum Arzt*. The designation 'personal pronoun' is therefore not altogether without foundation.

1. The Pronoun of the First Person

§ 458. **Substitutions.** *a.* As a rhetorical device, particularly in monologues, a speaker, i.e., the first person, not infrequently uses pronouns of the second person, addressing himself. This usage is old, and not confined to German, or even the Germanic languages. In Goethe's *Egmont*, Alba, having used forms of *du* in addressing Count Egmont not yet within hearing distance, abruptly

changes and employs the same form in addressing himself: "*Steig ab! — So bist du mit dem einen Fuß im Grab, und so mit beiden! Ja streichl' es nur und klopfe für seinen mutigen Dienst zum letzten Male den Nacken ihm — Und mir bleibt keine Wahl. In der Verblendung, wie hier Egmont naht, kann er dir nicht zum zweitenmal sich liefern!*"

b. Not infrequently, in English as well as in German, the first person plural is used, particularly in commands and exhortations that are really intended for others, and might therefore be expected to be put in the second person. It seems to be especially common in the school-room. A teacher will say: *We will take the third chapter next time*; or: *Sehen wir uns die Sache näher an*, etc. Similarly it is found also in other sentences: *Ja, nun hast du das zerbrochen; was machen wir nun?* meaning often: what are you going to do now. Again, speaking to a child: *Haben wir uns weh getan?* Did we get hurt? In all these cases the substitution of the first person plural for a second or third person singular or plural seems to be brought about by a desire to show interest or sympathy on the part of the speaker. It is therefore a truly polite plural.

c. Polite in its indefiniteness is also the frequent use of *man* for the first person. Thus Halbe has: *Ich möcht' ja alles für dich tun. Du weißt gar nicht, wie gut man dir ist.* Or again: *Und ich hab' gedacht, du bleibst wenigstens vier Wochen! Nun hat man sich so gefreut.* In either case the more appropriate *ich* might seem selfish or boastful under the circumstances.

d. Of different origin is the use of *wir* for the first singular, commonly known as the *pluralis majestaticus*.

It seems to have started in the time of the Roman emperors, who were probably induced to use the plural because they often spoke not for themselves alone, but also for others associated with them in carrying on the government. But for the subjects government was vested in the emperor, and they associated the plural form with him and assigned to it a meaning indicated by the phrase *pluralis majestaticus*, the majestic plural. In a perfectly natural way it was later assumed also by other persons of authority. The so-called 'editorial we,' found also in other languages besides German and English, started probably from the usage treated under (b) rather than from the majestic plural. Again and again occasions arise when speakers or writers most naturally associate themselves with their audience in a plural form: *We have now arrived at a stage in our discussion*, etc. Old English also offers instances of this usage, whether under Latin influence seems doubtful, when we find that the *pluralis majestaticus* is not used by Anglo-Saxon kings, but came in much later.

e. *Substitution of Nouns for the Pronoun.* Probably in conversation with little children more commonly than anywhere else the noun supplants the pronoun of the first person (as also of the second or third). Thus we have in Goethe's lullaby: *Schlaf, Herzenssöhnchen, mein Liebling bist du*, etc., but a little later: *Mütterchen* (who is singing) *wehret die Fliegen dir ab*. And in Schiller's *Tell*: *Sonst, wenn der Vater* (who is speaking) *auszog, liebe Kinder, da war ein Freuen, wenn er wiederkam*. In common life frequently: *Vater macht es dir; Mutter hält dich*, etc., just as in English. Occasionally we find a similar

substitution also in other connections, sometimes with a touch of ironical defiance: *Da hat gewiß der Hans sein Meisterstück abgelegt*, to which Hans might reply: *Jawohl, da hat Hans sein Meisterstück abgelegt*. Similarly, Schiller makes his Moor say, as if quoting: *Der Mohr hat seine Arbeit getan, der Mohr kann gehen*. In other connections it seems to be used merely for emphasis, as in Schiller's *Jungfrau*: *Johanna geht, und nimmer kehrt sie wieder*. There are no exact data, but the substitution of the noun for the pronoun of the first person seems of more frequent occurrence in Mhg. than now.

2. The Pronoun of the Second Person

§ 459. **Development of the Various Forms.** *a.* In Germanic as in the other Indo-Germanic languages the regular form for the second person singular was the one corresponding to English *thou*. This prevailed in Gothic and in the early period of Ohg. Otfrid seems to be the first one of the Ohg. writers presenting an instance of *ihr* for *du*, i.e., the second plural for the second singular. In English this usage does not occur till the thirteenth century; early in the fourteenth century *ye* began to gain over *thou*, the two often being used indiscriminately in addressing the same person.

The origin of this usage is readily explained from the use of the first person plural for the first person singular: anyone speaking of himself as *we*, the listener will most naturally address as *you*. As in English so also in German, *ye* (you), *ihr* soon became the polite form for the second singular generally, not only for superiors and rulers.

b. But polite forms lose their character by becoming

too general; so that new, and for the time being more distinctive words take their place. In English the word *lady* supplanted *woman*, and *gnädige Frau* is crowding *Frau*. In a similar manner, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the polite *ihr* did no longer seem sufficiently reverential, and again probably following Late Latin precept, abstract titles, such as *Majestät*, *Hoheit*, *Durchlaucht*, *Exzellenz*, *Gnaden*, *Hochwürden*, and still others were used in addressing persons of authority, first with a possessive of the second person plural: *Eure Majestät*; later, to show a still greater degree of deference, with a possessive or genitive of the pronoun for the third person plural: *Ihre Majestät*, *Ihro Majestät*. The verb was, in either case, in the third plural form: *Eure Majestät*, *Ihre Majestät wollen erwägen*, etc. To this day, *Ihre* or *Eure Majestät*, *Ihre* or *Euer Gnaden* are in vogue in addressing kings and other persons entitled to the distinction.

c. As we might well expect, in addressing persons of somewhat lower rank the polite *Ihr* was in time supplanted by a title, *Herr*, *Frau*, later, *gnädiger Herr*, *gnädige Frau*, this supposedly under French influence. They were followed by singular verbs and, particularly in the oblique cases, referred to by pronouns of the third singular of appropriate gender: *ihm*, *sich*, *ihn*; *ihr*, *sich*, *sie*. From here it was but a short step to arrive; at *Er* and *Sie* (singular feminine) for the nominative. They are found frequently in Lessing and later. There were now four grades of respect expressed in the words of address, the highest, *Ihro*, *Eure Majestät*, second, *Er*, *Sie* (singular), third *Ihr*, fourth *du*.

d. The form which Grimm branded as "a spot on the

garment of the German language never to be eradicated " was soon to make its appearance. Inaugurated probably by pronouns of the third person plural which might refer to titles in address as *Eure Fürstliche Gnaden*, etc., the plural of the third person pronoun was regarded as a degree higher than the corresponding singulars, *Er*, *Sie*. Coming in at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the plural form *Sie* had by the middle of the century pretty well displaced *Er* and the singular *Sie* in ordinary life. But for a while it furnished a fifth degree of politeness. No wonder that speakers at times were perplexed to know what particular form to use and resorted to the non-committal *wir* before mentioned, even at the risk of becoming ludicrous, as the well-known professor reproving his student with the words: *Wir sind ein Esel*, whereupon he, the incorrigible, answered: *Ich meinerseits protestiere*.

e. This multiplicity in the forms of address could not last. The forms of the third singular (*Er*, *Sie*) were really obsolete at the end of the eighteenth century. The second plural, *Ihr*, is still used in poetic diction at times, and locally as a sign of respect, particularly for older persons of lower rank. The pronouns in common vogue are *du* and *Sie*, without any reference to social distinction. *Du* is the sign of intimate familiarity, except toward children with whom it is always used; *Sie* is used in all more or less formal relations of life.

3. The Pronouns of the Third Person

§ 460. In Anaphoric and in Deictic Function. The personal pronoun of the third person, in common with the demonstratives, may serve in two functions. It may

refer back to a noun already mentioned, or at least already in the speaker's mind, and if not yet in that of the listener, presently supplied for him. In this sense it is often said to be anaphoric. It is thus used most commonly: *Gott bewahre uns vor Sorge; sie macht den Menschen alt vor der Zeit*. But it is anaphoric also in many sentences in which the noun follows the pronoun: *Wenn gute Reden sie begleiten, dann fließt die Arbeit munter fort. Nur wenn er glüheth, labet der Quell. Arbeit, Quell* were concepts in the mind of the speaker, as the agreement of the pronouns in gender and number shows. In this use of the pronoun of the third person English and German are quite in agreement.

Much less frequently in German than in English the personal pronouns of the third person (less distinctly those of the first and second) are used in a function from which the demonstrative has its name and which it fills pre-eminently, the function of pointing out an object by an accompanying gesture of some sort. When thus used, the personal pronoun in both English and German is invariably stressed, though not infrequently it is stressed also when used anaphorically, as in Acts 2, 24: *Den hat Gott auferwecket*: Him hath God raised up from the dead. In German, too, we might say: *Ihn hat Gott auferwecket*. The pronoun is deictic in the following sentence: *Ich habe drei Schlitten hier, von denen Sie sich einen wählen können. Hier ist ein roter. — Ich nehme ihn (den)*, I'll take it (that). The demonstrative *der* is in such cases more common in German.

§ 461. **Demonstratives Encroaching.** *a.* It was mentioned before that the pronoun of the third person is

more freely used for persons than for objects. In discussing the use of the dative we found that it is pre-eminently a case to denote personal relations. It is therefore to be expected that the dative case of the personal pronoun, when referring to objects, should be particularly scarce; this is so much the case that some grammarians have felt called upon to advise against its use in these relations altogether. But the dative referring to objects is found in many recognized writers. Lessing has: *Die schmerzhaften Empfindungen gewinnen in ihm* (i.e., *Mitleid*) *die Oberhand*. *Es liegt in ihm* (i.e., *Teich*) *versunken eine Krone stolz und reich* (Uhland). *Wenn Sie unsern Plan kennen, werden sie ihm einen bessern Namen geben* (Goethe). *Kosten Sie diesen Honig und sagen Sie mir Ihre Meinung von ihm*. (Wieland). Nevertheless, unless for some special reason the pronoun is called for, being then ordinarily under some stress, we should in most sentences like those quoted expect, and indeed in such cases we find combinations as *darin*, *hinein*, *davon*, etc.

b. The accusative of *es*, when governed by a preposition, is regularly supplanted by a demonstrative or a combination with the preposition. Talking of a book we do not say: *Schreibe deinen Namen in es*, but *hinein* or *in dasselbe*.

c. Probably because the genitive of the neuter personal pronoun was not sufficiently distinct (nominative *es*, accusative *es*, genitive *es*), nor of sufficient weight, its place was early taken by other forms, namely by the reflexive *sein*, later *seiner*, when referring to persons, and, when standing for objects, by demonstrative pronouns, particularly *derselbe* but also *dies*, *das*: *Ich freue mich*

dessen, *desselben*, though more commonly *darüber*, the genitive, not of the pronoun only, having largely been crowded out of this particular function as we saw in another connection. The old genitive *es* is preserved with a number of adjectives, but hardly recognized as a genitive: *Ich bin es müde, satt*, etc.

§ 462. **Es as Indefinite Subject.** *a.* In German as in English and other kindred languages, *es*, and somewhat less commonly *das* and *dies*, are used in a general way as subject not only when coupled with a neuter predicate or referring to neuter nouns, but also where other languages, as Greek and Latin, insisting on more strict agreement, call for masculine or feminine pronouns, sometimes in the singular, sometimes in the plural. This use of the neuter singular is common in all periods of the language and illustrated in the following sentences: *Es* or *das*, *dies ist mein Bruder, meine Schwester, mein Kind*; and also: *Es, das, dies sind meine Brüder, meine Schwestern, meine Kinder*. While in English the personal pronoun *it* is used with the singular and plural predicate alike, as in German, the corresponding *this* takes plural form and is followed by a plural verb if the predicate noun is in the plural: *It is my brothers: these are my brothers*. Cp. § 455. The singular form of the verb in the English sentences with *it* and a plural noun in the predicate points, in a way, more clearly to the indefinite meaning of *it* than the German *es* followed by a plural verb.

b. It was this indefiniteness which recommended the neuter personal pronoun as the subject of what we commonly call impersonal verbs. For in the early stages of the Germanic languages pronominal subjects were fre-

quently omitted. On the other hand, the indefiniteness of the subject of the impersonal verbs has made *es*, it, almost its exclusive representative and practically eliminated the demonstratives for this function. Only in a sort of exclamatory sentences we can say: *Wie das regnet, wie das schneit*, or: *Das hagelt Backsteine!*

c. In a similarly indefinite way *es* is used as a sort of anticipatory, proleptic subject representing a following clause, most commonly a subject clause, but not infrequently also others. Once more, English and German agree: *Es ist nicht wahr, daß der gerade Weg immer der kürzeste ist*; but also: *Es ist, als ob ich ihn sähe; es dauert lange, bis er kommt*, etc. How from this indefinite *es* the particle *es* corresponding to our English *there* might have been developed was suggested in § 274, 4.

b. The Reflexive Pronoun

§ 463. **Particular Meaning of the Reflexive.** At first sight we might be inclined to regard a special reflexive pronoun as something quite superfluous, as duplicating the oblique cases of the personal pronoun, which, as a matter of fact, take the place of the reflexive in the first and second persons; only in the third we have a special form: *sich*. In English, forms of the personal pronoun were used reflexively from the earliest times. We might infer from this that here the reflexive had a less clearly defined function, and our inference might seem to be corroborated by the fact that also from the earliest times a tendency became manifest to drop the reflexive object in English and substitute for the reflexive verb either a plain intransitive or transitive: *Make yourself ready* became,

make ready; bathe yourself, bathe; he turned himself from the right, he turned from the right, etc. But though often supplanted in German and other Germanic dialects by personal pronouns, the reflexive object has nevertheless functions quite distinct. For Wulfila the reflexive was pre-eminently the means of rendering the Greek middle, sometimes also the Greek passive. At all times the reflexive denotes that the action expressed in the verb closely touches the subject. Not infrequently a verb used with a reflexive pronoun has a meaning quite different from that to be expected from its use with an ordinary object. Compare in this respect: *Bücher sammeln: sich sammeln*, to collect oneself, *sich zusammennehmen*, to be on one's guard; *sich ermuntern*, to cheer up, to wake up, *sich sorgen*, and others. Then again, certain verbs may take only a reflexive object: *sich schämen*, *sich sorgen*, *sich beeilen*. Some of these may take another object when compounded with some prefix: *Ich beschäme ihn*, *besorge ihn*, *ich wundere mich*, *bewundere ihn*; others are used with reflexives only: *ich bewähre mich*, *betrage mich*.

There was therefore ample reason to preserve a special reflexive form. And that the popular feeling was conscious of a special meaning attached to it becomes evident from the use of *sich* as a reflexive not only for the third person, but also for the first and second from Mhg. time till our days; Anzengruber has: *Nach welchen wir sich zu richten und an wen wir sich z' halten haben*. Particularly after prepositions this seems to be common. In localities where *sich* in other constructions was supplanted by the regular pronouns, it was not recognized at length as *sich* at all;

thus after *für* and *hinter* it degenerated in Suabian into *fürsche*, *hintersche*.

And yet, on the other hand, a special form of the reflexive for the dative, found in Gothic as *sis*, died out in German before we have any literary monuments, and forms of the personal pronoun take its place. They continue to be used in the dative down to Lessing's time, and are not extinct in the Bavarian dialect today; Lessing has: *Wer sich Knall und Fall ihm selbst zu leben nicht entschließen kann*; and Wildermuth, a modern writer in Bavarian dialect: *Sonst hat der Vater gar nex g'schwätzt, und jetzt schwätzt er mit ihm selber*. In literary German the accusative of the reflexive, *sich*, is used in both numbers for the dative; i.e., a distinctively reflexive, if not a distinctive case form.

§ 464. Reference of the Reflexive. The reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the clause in which it occurs; in participial and infinitive phrases it refers to the subject of the infinitive or the participle: *Wir sahen einen Mann, der sich über die geringste Kleinigkeit aufregte*; *wir sahen einen über die geringste Kleinigkeit sich aufregenden Mann*; *wir baten ihn, sich nicht aufzuregen*. It corresponds exactly to the use of the English reflexive *himself*. In sentences with an infinitive or participial phrase, the subject of the governing verb is referred to by the personal pronoun: *Er bat uns, ihn zu besuchen*.

In the case of infinitives without *zu* we have to distinguish between passive infinitives without the subject expressed and transitive infinitives with an accusative subject. Reflexives with passive infinitives refer to the subject of the main clause: *Er hörte sich tadeln*, he heard

himself being censured. *Er sah sich verspotten*, he saw himself being scorned; also with the participial intransitive infinitive: *Im Traum sah er sich im Vaterhause stehen*. If, however, an accusative subject of a transitive infinitive is expressed, a reflexive cannot well be used to refer to the subject of the main clause, nor is a personal pronoun available for this purpose. We can say neither: *Er hörte seinen Freund sich*, nor *ihn*, *loben*. The first would be taken to mean that his friend praised himself, while *ihn* in such connection would ordinarily be referred to a third party. A careful speaker or writer would avoid the construction entirely, just as we should probably in English hesitate to say either: *He heard his friend praising him*; or *himself*, but rather: *He heard himself being praised by his friend*. Only when the reflexive depends on a preposition, particularly one governing the accusative, may it refer to the subject of the main clause, also if an accusative subject of an infinitive is expressed: *Er sah seine Mutter auf sich zu kommen*. Gellert has: *Der Geist hieß die Frau freundlich mit sich gehn*, where *ihm* would be quite as good. Körner: *Er hört die Winde pfeifen und stürmen um sich her*, where in common prose we should probably avoid ambiguity by saying *rings um sich her*. In general, the choice of the reflexive or the personal pronoun not infrequently depends on the greater degree of clearness with one or the other. Hence for the dative, the personal with its distinct forms is often preferred following or preserving older usage, where in quite similar conditions *sich* would be used to represent the accusative. Often ambiguity can also be avoided by adding to the reflexive the intensifying pronoun *selbst* or

selber, stereotyped and generalized forms of the old nominative singular masculine and neuter *selber* and *selbez*: *Er sah das Netz ihn selbst umstricken*. So we might also say: *Er hörte seinen Freund ihn selbst loben*. Reflexives of the first and second person never give rise to ambiguity.

§ 465. **Origin of the Confusion.** If we could ascertain the reasons why the personal pronoun in older German supplanted the reflexive form of the genitive and dative found in Gothic, and was, in turn, once more crowded out by the accusative of the reflexive in modern German, while in English an entirely new, and in many ways more distinct formation occupies the field, we should probably find that confusion arose in compound clauses, or clauses with infinitive or participial phrases with implied or expressed subjects of their own. Following one rule, the reflexive referred to the subject of the main clause: *Herôdes balg sich harto* (Tatian), *Herodes erzürnte sich sehr*. But in other cases the reflexive referred to the subject of the infinitive; Gudrun: *Durch iuwer selbes êre lât sich den haz verenden*, *Bei Eurer eignen Ehre, laßt den Streit sich enden*. In either sentence the reference is perfectly clear from the connection. But ambiguity at once arose when the reflexive could refer to either subject without doing violence to the sense, and various makeshifts had to be employed to insure a correct understanding. It is therefore not surprising that usage varies somewhat in different languages and in different periods. Comparing Nhg. with Mhg. one difference is particularly striking. Where we should say: *Sie wollte keinen Ritter sie tragen lassen*, Gottfrid has: *Sine wolte sich niht deheinen ritter tragen lâzen*. Or for our: *Sie bat ihren Gast, sie zu küssen*,

Wolfram has: *Ir gast si sich küssen bat*; or: *Manege clære frouwen muost er sich küssen schouwen*, which we should have to reconstruct altogether: *Es war ihm vergönnt zu sehen, wie ihn manche schöne Frau küßte*, or: *sich von mancher schönen Frau geküßt zu sehen*. But Wolfram has also, in accordance with present usage: *Er bat die küneginne rich in küssen unde vaken z'ir*, i.e., *er bat die Königin, ihn zu küssen und an sich zu drücken*.

For no period of German does it seem possible to give concise rules governing the interchange of reflexive and personal pronouns, just as it would be no easy matter to formulate the English use of *him* and *himself* into unvarying rule. We could say, e.g.: *She asked him, not to pay attention to the child only, but also to herself*. Yet we should certainly hesitate to say: *He asked him, not to pay attention to the child only, but also to himself*. Often, to be sure, even such a sentence would be sufficiently clear from the connection, and might so pass muster.

§ 466. **The Reflexive in Reciprocal Function.** We have no exclusively reciprocal pronoun. *Einander*, often regarded as such, is used also in connections where the relation between the various members concerned is not reciprocal, particularly in composition with prepositions, as *durcheinander*, *hintereinander*, *übereinander*, and others. It is now uninflected in the dative and accusative: *Sie liebten einander*, *sie glaubten einander*. In the genitive we still inflect: *Sie gedachten einer des andern*, or sometimes also *einer der andern* if two feminines are involved. From Ohg. down, the pronouns doing service as reflexives were used also reciprocally in the dative or accusative where there was no danger of their being taken as reflexives:

Sie haben sich herzlich lieb; sie umarmen sich. For the sake of clearness sometimes *einander* or the adverb *gegenseitig* are added to *sich*: *Sie ärgerten sich gegenseitig; sie halfen sich einander, sich gegenseitig, einander*, of which the first is the least common.

After prepositions we can have as a reciprocal pronoun only *einander*, not *sich*: *Sie standen neben einander, gingen miteinander.* Only after *unter* and *über* also *sich* is allowable, though less common: *Sie teilten die Beute unter sich; sie erstaunten gegenseitig über sich*; in either case better *einander*.

c. The Demonstrative Pronoun

§ 467. **Expansion of the Demonstratives.** The demonstrative pronoun has in the history of the German language acquired a great deal of territory formerly held by the personal pronoun of the third person, whose natural rival it is. Ohg. translators use forms of the personal pronoun not only where the Latin uses a simple verb, as *amat patrem, er liebt den Vater*, but also in rendering various Latin demonstratives, *is, ipse, ille*. In the dative and genitive especially, demonstratives often supplant the personal pronoun, for reasons given in § 461. Other considerations helped to establish it generally. Especially in literature, where there is no opportunity of making definite reference by means of emphasis or gesture, demonstrative forms are now used for the sake of clearer distinctions where Mhg. writers were content to depend upon their readers or listeners to unravel the tangled relations between the various forms of the personal pronoun that might with equal propriety refer to a number

of antecedents. Thus the demonstratives gained ground, until to-day they occupy many places, even where personal pronouns might quite properly be used, and where in English personal forms are actually found.

§ 468. **General Meaning of the Demonstratives.** Two general functions can be distinguished in the demonstrative pronoun: the deictic and the anaphoric. To this difference in function corresponds usually a difference in relative stress. The same pronoun, when deictic, has often relatively stronger accent than when anaphoric. This stronger stress, possibly, may have supported the tendency to introduce for the old forms *der*, *die*, *das*, the longer *dieser*, *diese*, *dieses*. Etymologically they seem to be compounds of the shorter forms with the deictic particle *sê*, meaning 'behold,' which became attached to the ordinary pronoun much as we strengthen demonstrative forms now with the local adverbs *here*, *there*, *hier*, *da*: *this one here*, *dieser hier*; colloquially even: *this here book*, etc. It is therefore not surprising that the longer forms first effected their entrance in deictic function, though in time they got to be used anaphorically as well. Essentially anaphoric are *der* and *derselbe*; also the so-called determinative *derjenige*, which is always followed by a genitive, a prepositional phrase, or a relative clause; and *solcher* as far as it is demonstrative at all. Essentially deictic are *dieser* and *jener*. Yet *der* is not uncommon in deictic function, nor *dieser* and *jener* in anaphoric.

§ 469. **der, dieser, jener, derjenige.** *der*, like *dieser*, *jener*, and other pronominals, has always been used not only as a real pronoun, but also as an adjective accompanying a noun. In this function it gradually grew

weaker in content and stress until finally it degenerated into the definite article. At the same time new and stronger forms had entered the field as rivals, *dieser* as a deictic and anaphoric, *derjenige* as a determinative adjective and pronoun; yet *der*, when stressed, still continues in its old functions, and as a determinative adjective is probably more common than *derjenige*, which is usually a determinative pronoun. In the genitive and dative plural *der* was re-enforced, when used pronominally, by longer forms, *derer* and *deren* for the genitive, *denen* for the dative, while the older forms *der* and *den* are now confined to the article and the adjectival use of the demonstrative: *dér Menschen muß man sich schämen*; *dén Freunden traue ich nicht*; but: *deren erinnere ich mich nicht*; *denen glaube ich*. *derer* is used for the genitive plural of the determinative; but it is not clearly distinguished from *deren*.

Compared with *dieser* and *jener*, *der* is less definite, not designating one object as more or less remote than another; it is on that account commonly used anaphorically when there is but one object to which it might refer, while *dieser* and *jener* distinguish between two antecedents, *dieser* referring to the one closer, *jener* to the one more remote. Similarly *der* differs from *dieser* and *jener* in deictic function, but here *dieser* shares the field with *der hier*, *jener* with *der da*, particularly in conversation. Sometimes, when coupled with *jener*, *der* takes the place of *dieser*, when coupled with *dieser*, that of *jener*: *Es herrsche der Griechen, und es diene der Barbar; denn der ist Knecht, und jener frei geboren* (Schiller). Sometimes *jener* is also used in a more generalizing sense: *Wie spricht doch jener alte Weise, dessen Worte auch für unsere Tage noch unbe-*

schränkte Geltung haben? When thus used, *jener* is often classed with *derjenige* and *der* as a determinative; it is plain, however, that it differs rather widely from them in meaning. *Jener* here is equivalent to the English *that well-known wise man*; it may be said to have here also deictic function, while *derjenige*, and *der* when similarly used, particularize, meaning: *that particular person or thing*.

§ 470. **derselbe** (**derselbige**, *variant little used*). Originally *derselbe* denoted identity, always meaning what it still signifies when used adjectively: *derselbe Mensch*, the same man. In time its meaning grew less characteristic and it came to be used in place of the personal pronoun of the third person and the demonstrative *dieser*, always anaphorically, and referring somewhat more often to objects than to persons. Yet *derselbe* cannot indiscriminately be substituted for the personal. In case the subject as well as some other member of a sentence are to be represented by pronouns, the personal pronoun regularly refers to the subject, *derselbe* to the other member: *Der Lehrer fühlt sich für die Schüler verantwortlich; die Eltern haben ihm [dem Lehrer] dieselben [die Schüler] anvertraut*, or, *dieselben sind ihm von den Eltern anvertraut*. In this case, however, forms of the personal pronoun could also be used in place of *derselbe*, because the meaning of the sentence would preclude any confusion: *die Eltern haben sie ihm anvertraut*; in such sentences forms of the personal pronoun are considered preferable. For the sake of variation *dieser* sometimes may be used also. Where clearness demands, the variation of the pronouns in the manner indicated is the rule: *Meine Kinder haben*

alte Freunde eingeladen. Dieselben [alte Freunde] wollen mit ihnen ins Theater. In sie wollen mit ihnen ins Theater, sie would refer to Kinder.

Where several members besides the subject are to be represented by pronouns, *dieser* is called into service to refer to the nearer, *derselbe* represents the one more remote, the personal pronoun, again, stands for the subject. *Mein Sohn ließ den Vater seines sterbenden Freundes rufen. Er [mein Sohn] wünschte, daß dieser [der Freund] sich mit demselben [dem Vater] aussöhne.* — It is interesting to note that in places formerly held by personal pronouns, as in the preceding sentence, the demonstratives, particularly *derselbe*, have decidedly weaker stress than when used as real demonstratives. On account of its extensive use in very general relations, *derselbe* has almost altogether lost the particularizing, identifying force still common in early Nhg., e.g.: *Wehe dem Menschen, durch welchen des Menschen Sohn verraten wird. Es wäre demselben Menschen besser, daß er nie geboren wäre* (Mark 14, 21). *Ein und derselbe*, or also *der selbe*, written as two words, sometimes also *dieser selbe*, have acquired this earlier function.

§ 471. **Solch, so einer.** *Solch* is a cognate of the English *such* and is commonly still used in much the same way. That is, properly used it denotes kind, quality, and often also degree, in this sense taking the place of the adverb *so*: *solch ein kleiner Hund*, is to-day perhaps as common as: *ein so kleiner Hund*. On the other hand, *so ein* often takes the place of *ein solcher*, if it is used with a noun unaccompanied by an adjective: *so ein Mann*; with an adjective we have the choice between *so ein*

and *ein so*: *Er war so ein guter Mann*, and *er war ein so guter Mann*. In the latter sentence the *so* more clearly indicates the degree of the adjective: *he was a man, so good*; the former corresponds to our *he was such a good man*. This *so* was originally probably connected with the verb and by mistake drawn to the adjective or the indefinite article. How this might be done appears from the following sentence: *Ich habe einen Hunger, so hat mich in meinem Leben noch keiner gequält*. The next step might be: *so hab' ich in meinem Leben noch keinen gespürt*, where *so* would not quite as readily join the verb and the more easily be drawn to *keinen*.

Very early in Nhg. *solch* began to be used as a regular demonstrative in anaphoric function, never deictic: *Mußte nicht Christus solches* (instead of *dieses*) *leiden?* (Luke 24, 26). Possibly in this sentence it might be defended, though there is nothing in the Greek to call for it, and it is not probable that Luther meant to express in it: "these or similar things." At any rate, it became more and more frequent as a plain substitute for *dieser* and is thus used in a very obtrusive way in Schiller's and Goethe's prose. Thus Goethe has: *Dieses Jahr muß mir in der Erinnerung teuer bleiben; ich brachte solches ohne auswärtigen Aufenthalt teils in Weimar, teils in Jena zu*. We need not raise the cry of pedantry when thoughtful stylists object to this abuse, which thus far seems to be pretty well confined to literary usage. That it has not succeeded in making its way into the spoken language is the more remarkable when we find that in writing it is of long standing. Even in Ohg. it is used to translate the Latin *hic*, *is*, *ille*.

d. *The Definite Article*

§ 472. **Branching off from the Demonstrative Adjective.** The definite article was developed from the demonstrative adjective, and in the older Germanic dialects much of its original force was still preserved. With the demonstrative it plainly shared the deictic and the anaphoric function. The latter is still easily recognized both in English and in German: "Long lines of breaking cliff have left *a* chasm; and in *the* chasm are foam and yellow sands." Similar examples we meet on every page. The deictic function is now somewhat less pronounced, yet unmistakably present. In Gothic it often appears very clearly. Luke 5, 24, is translated: *ushaffands þata badi þeinata, gagg in garda þeinana*, literally translated: *lifting up the bed thine, go into house thine*. The bed was within sight of the speaker and listener, the house was not. In Greek the article is used both with *bed* and *house*, in English and German with neither. It seems fair to conclude that in these languages the article has less content than in Gothic, being used with less discrimination. Wulfila undoubtedly imagined that the speaker, when he referred to *the* or *this bed of yours*, accompanied the word which we now call the article with some sort of gesture. Precisely the same distinction he makes in the parallel account in Mark 2, 11: *urreis, nimuh þata badi þein jah gagg du garda þeinamma*. *Arise, and take the bed of thine and go to thy home*. Apparently, in deictic function the article was very nearly a demonstrative.

In anaphoric function also the definite article was common in Gothic, as it is to this day. A noun intro-

duced for the first time by itself, Wulfila supplies, when repeated, with the definite article; as in Luke 2, 25: *þaruh was manna in Jairusalem, þizei namo Symaion, jah sa manna was garaihts*: There was (a) man in Jerusalem, whose name (was) Simeon, and *the* man was just. Both in German and English we supply the first noun with the indefinite article. In Ohg. and Old Saxon the indefinite article is used in a similar manner, but probably quite as frequently a noun appears the first time without any article, as in Gothic; Tatian: *In anaginne was wort, inti thaz wort was mit gote*, In the beginning was (the) word, and the word was with God.

The use of the anaphoric article fairly well corresponds in Gothic and the German dialects even of to-day, outwardly at any rate. Yet there are indications that in this function, too, the article gradually grew empty of content more and more, at the same time being pressed into service for different purposes as we shall see. In deictic function this is more clearly apparent. For in Old High German, and even more frequently in Old Saxon, the longer forms of *dieser* are often used where Wulfila would have been content with the article, a tolerably clear indication that the article had lost the necessary definiteness of content to make it available for anything like demonstrative purposes. At the same time the article in Old High German and Old Saxon is used in connections where it is difficult to claim for it either one of the old demonstrative functions, though it is often possible to see a connection between the old and the new usage.

It is of little promise to attempt to trace minutely the development of the old demonstrative into the article of

Otfrid's time, which agrees in most of the essentials with that of the present day. Between the Gothic and the Old High German there is a big gap. What was in Gothic still quite near the demonstrative, is in Old High German decidedly nearer the article. And the article at once suggests questions for which it is hard to find satisfying answers. Why is the article much less frequently found in oblique cases than in the nominative? Why, apparently, much less often in poetry than in prose, as is particularly apparent in Anglo-Saxon monuments? Might it be that in Anglo-Saxon time as now poetry represented an older stage than prose? This would be additional proof for the supposition that the relationship of the article to its demonstrative ancestor becomes more apparent and close as we go back in the history of any Germanic language. That the transformation must have begun in primitive Germanic we should conclude from the fact that the article is found as article in all Germanic dialects. Yet it can hardly be more than a coincidence that an article should have been similarly developed from the same stem in Greek.

§ 473. **Use of the Article.** 1. The article has no independent use. It always accompanies a noun, or some part of speech used as a noun, true to its nature as a demonstrative adjective. One of its chief functions is to this day the anaphoric, designating an object as already mentioned or known and thereby individualizing it, making it definite: *Es war ein alter König, sein Herz war schwer, sein Haupt war grau. Der arme alte König, er nahm eine junge Frau.* Instead of *sein Herz, sein Haupt*, we might have had also *das Herz war ihm schwer, das*

Haupt ihm grau. This article could hardly be said to be anaphoric in the same sense as in *der arme alte König*. We can see, however, how the definiteness of *der arme alte König* might have suggested the article also with the similarly definite *Herz, Haupt*. In this way the anaphoric, and essentially still demonstrative use of *der* became 'definite' in a wider, more general sense.

2. The so-called generic function of the article was developed later, whether from the deictic or the anaphoric can probably not be determined. Yet it seems most easily to connect with the definite, determinative use of the article just mentioned. Even in Old High German and Old Saxon we are struck with the regularity with which the article accompanies nouns as *Priester, Lehrer, Richter, König, Herzog, Fürst*, also *Tempel, Schule, Hof, Meer, Fluß, Berg, Dorf, Stadt*, and later names of tradesmen, as *Schmied, Schneider*, and others denoting each a particular individual of its class. They may have attracted the article by their inherent definiteness. On the other hand, we can easily imagine combinations in which statements concerning the particular individual of its class might with equal propriety be understood of the whole class; e.g., *den Priester, als den Diener des Höchsten, muß man mit Ehrerbietung behandeln. Der Tempel ist die Wohnung des Herrn, ihn darf man nicht schänden. Die Schule sät Samen fürs Leben. Vor dem Richter gilt kein Ansehen der Person. Der Schuhmacher ist kein Schuhputzer*, etc. A judgment or an assertion of general application thus at once converts any specific noun with which it may be connected into a general class designation, and the generic article has its start, and can now be used

also with nouns solely of general significance: *Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt. Die Tugend, sie ist kein leerer Wahn. Die Liebe ist die größte unter ihnen. Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm*, etc.

Usually the generic article is used with nouns in the singular; occasionally also the plural occurs: *Die Menschen sind nicht immer, was sie scheinen. Das wissen wir, die wir die Genssen jagen*. These plurals, however, denote rather all the members of the class than the class as a unit.

In English we have in these cases the noun, whether in the singular or the plural, without any article, or sometimes with the indefinite article.

3. Names of material, when denoting any indefinite amount of the material, not the material as a class, have no article: *Blei ist schwerer als Gold. Eisen ist weicher als Stahl. Im Kriege ist Stahl von größerem Wert als Gold. Blut ist dicker als Wasser*. But we could also say: *Im Kriege ist der Stahl von größerem Wert als das Gold*. Without the article the sentence might be rendered: *In war it is better to have (some) steel than to have (some) gold*; with the article: *In war steel is better than gold*. Similarly: *Der Wein erfreut des Menschen Herz: Wein erfreut des Menschen Herz*; wine delights the hearts of men: some wine delights the hearts of men. That speakers may sometimes differ as to the propriety of one or the other construction need not surprise us.

4. In a similar manner abstract nouns may or may not take the definite article: *Schönheit vergeht, Tugend besteht. Friede ernährt, Unfriede verzehrt. Gerechtigkeit erhöht ein Volk, aber die Sünde ist der Leute Verderben*.

Wer Sünde tut, der ist der Sünde Knecht. Die Tugend adelt den Menschen, das Laster schändet ihn. Güte adelt den Menschen, Rachsucht schändet ihn. Die Kühnheit macht, die Freiheit den Soldaten: Kühnheit macht den Soldaten und Freiheit. In case of these nouns, too, the absence of the article gives them a sort of partitive idea; they denote what of the quality is inherent in the particular object; or a condition confined to more or less definite relations or surroundings: *Friede ernährt, Unfriede verzehrt*, i.e., *Friede, Unfriede* between some definite parties. The definite article generalizes, is here also generic. We should say: *Gerechtigkeit erhöht ein Volk, aber Sündhaftigkeit* (but *die Sünde*) *ist der Leute Verderben; Gerechtigkeit, Sündhaftigkeit*, the quality, in so far as it is inherent in, limited to some more or less definite group; *die Sünde*, not the quality, but the general fact. We shall find, however, that particularly in proverbs and where several abstract nouns occur in pairs, the article is often omitted where in common unhampered prose we should use it: *Müßiggang* (instead of *der Müßiggang*) *ist aller Laster Anfang. Not kennt kein Gebot. Ehre verloren, alles verloren. Alter schützt vor Torheit nicht.* In the last proverb the article would seem quite in place with *Alter*, but not with *Torheit*; similarly: *das Alter schützt nicht vor Dummheit*; but: *Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens.* In the last sentence *Dummheit* has reference to the general fact; in the others, we might say, to a part of it as exemplified in some individual.

5. Collective nouns when used generically often are in the plural without any article: *Gebirge hemmen die*

Ausbreitung der Volksstämme; but also in the singular: *Gestrüpp ist stets ein Zeichen der Verwahrlosung*. In other respects they hardly differ from other nouns in regard to the use of the articles.

6. Names of persons and cities usually remain without the article, except when accompanied by an adjective, when the definite article must be used: *das alte Berlin*, *der junge Wilhelm*. Names of rivers and mountains have the article regularly: *der Rhein*, *der St. Gotthardt*, also *der Bodensee*, etc. *Gott*, *Vater*, *Mutter*, *Tante*, and other names of relatives are very often treated as proper names and remain without the article, *Gott* always.

Titles and designations of tradesmen, when used as titles with proper names, remain without the article: *Professor Sievers*, *Dr. von Bahder*, *Schuhmāchermeister Jansen*, etc. When less in the nature of titles, but rather as appositions for identification, the article is more apt to be used: *der Dichter Goethe*, or *Goethe*, *der Dichter*, *der König Karl*; also *Wilhelm der Siegreiche*, etc.

7. Throughout the history of the German language nouns governed by prepositions have had a tendency to be without the article: *bei Nacht*, *bei Tage*, *zu Wasser*, *zu Lande*, *vor Sorgen*, *mit Freuden*, *aus Liebe*, *in Güte*, and others. Such combinations are undoubtedly remnants of an older stage, when the article was not yet as common as it became later. They avoided the article probably because many of them had become stereotyped in just such a form, as *zu Wasser*, *bei Tage*, where we should now more naturally say, *auf dem Wasser*, *am Tage*. For the same reason proverbs have their peculiarity, as we found under (4). Conservatism is practised to a fault in legal

language, both German and English. Thus the article is often wanting before *Kläger, Angeklagter, Redner, Verteidiger*. Often also its place is taken by the indefinite article in designations of courts, governments, etc.: *Ein wohllöbliches Konsistorium wolle gestatten, an ein wohllöbliches Bürgermeisteramt*, etc. Of late this custom has been falling into disuse.

8. Two or more co-ordinate nouns very often omit the article where one would surely take it: *Haus und Hof standen auf dem Spiel; man kämpft für Fürst und Vaterland; Mann und Weib sind ein Leib; in Nacht und Nebel; über Berg und Tal; in Feld und Wald*, and many others. This, too, goes back far in the history of German. But in these couplets the article was kept out probably on account of the alliteration or rime and rhythm present in many of them.

9. Nouns in the accusative case connected with verbs of incomplete predication are commonly without the article, either definite or indefinite: *Atem holen*, or *atmen*, *Frucht tragen*, English 'to bear' or 'bear fruit,' *Schritt halten*, *Hunger leiden*, cp. *Hungerleider*; then also *stattfinden*, *teilnehmen*, *folgeleisten*, and others.

10. Not infrequently the article is omitted in poetry where we should expect it in prose: *Knabe sprach, ich breche dich, Röslein sprach, ich steche dich*. Often such nouns seem to have something remotely in common with proper names.

11. The article is repeated before several co-ordinate nouns, if they are thought of as individuals: *der Fuchs, der Wolf und der Esel gingen spazieren*. But if they are thought of as components of a group, the article may be

omitted before all but the first, if all are of the same gender, *der Fuchs, Wolf und Esel sind Säugetiere*; yet more commonly we should say: *Fuchs, Wolf und Esel*, etc.

12. Feminine proper names are sometimes preceded merely by the article without *Frau* or *Fräulein* or some other appropriate title, as, *die Neuber, die Marlitt, die Mühlbach*, etc. Often this involves a lack of respect.

13. Often the article seems to serve no other purpose than that of indicating the case of the noun: *Eine neue Ausgabe des "Nathan."* *Doch nicht den Tell erblick ich in der Menge.* Similarly proper names not readily showing the genitive case take the article: *Die Werke des Praxiteles: die Werke Schillers*, or *Schillers Werke*; *das Reich Kaiser Karls: das Reich des Kaisers Augustus, des Tiberius, Honorius*, etc.

14. With proper names of persons the article is very often used in South German dialects without giving to the speech that apparent familiarity usually implied when similarly used in North Germany, unless it be done for reasons of grammatical clearness. Not infrequently, however, the name of an author with the definite article stands for his works: *Ich habe Ihnen den Klopstock, den Homer, etc., mitgebracht.*

15. In distributive sense the definite article stands where in English we use the indefinite, though in English also the definite was once common: *Es kostet drei Mark das Meter. Die Zeitung erscheint dreimal die Woche. Ich zahle sechs Mark den Tag; sechs Mark den Mann.*

16. Sometimes the article is only apparently omitted, if it is in the accusative case after *in*, *an*: *Setz dich in Sessel* for *setz dich in'n Sessel*. Colloquially this is

common enough. Though greatly reduced, the article can still slightly be heard, while in writing it finds no representation.

§ 474. Present Contact of Article and Demonstrative.

The definite article has constantly grown away from the demonstrative and is now used in many functions where all contact between the two is apparently broken. Formally, the demonstrative is stressed; the article is unstressed and in consequence often reduced in form, particularly after prepositions. Besides the contractions recognized in literature, *am*, *aufs*, *beim*, *durchs*, *fürs*, *im*, *ins*, *vom*, *zum*, *zur*, *hinterm*, *widers*, not only the dialects but also the speech of cultured people admit many more. But in the delicate discrimination which favors or admits in certain connections the contracted forms while in others it insists upon the preposition and the unimpaired form of the article we become conscious of the fact that, after all, a sharp line between the article and the demonstrative cannot be drawn. In some combinations, where the article is particularly void of meaning, these contractions must be used, as in names of inns: *Gasthof zum schwarzen Bären*, *zur grünen Tanne*, *zum weißen Schwan*, etc., also in *zur See*, *im Felde*, if no particular field is to be indicated, *im allgemeinen*, *im ganzen*, *am Lande*, *ans Land*, etc. But when the noun is intended to designate a particular object with any definiteness, the full form of the article is preferred. This is usually the case if the noun is followed by a relative clause or some other means of definite reference: *In dem Garten am Wall*; *zu dem Helfer in aller Not*; *am Brunnen vor dem Tore* would in prose probably be: *An dem Brunnen vor dem Tore*. Poetry

takes also in other ways considerable license in the use or omission of the article: *Klein Roland*, *Schön Suschen*, *Jung Werner*; *König und die Königin*. *Wein ist stärker als das Wasser*, etc.

e. *The Indefinite Article*

§ 475. **Development of the Indefinite Article.** Etymologically the German *ein* as well as the English *a*, *an*, are identical with the numeral, yet in neither language did it develop from the numeral directly. Very early in the Germanic languages — occasionally, and apparently under Greek influence, even in Gothic — the numeral was used in the sense of an indefinite adjective: a man = some man, any man. Ordinarily, however, Wulfila used for this purpose the pronominal *sums*, and others, most of which did not die out entirely till after the Middle High German period, being gradually crowded out by *ein*. This indefinite pronominal *ein*, when unstressed, became the indefinite pronoun. As such it developed in German and kindred languages a number of new functions, retaining, however, together with the meaning bequeathed by the indefinite pronominal, also traces of the individualizing force inherited from the numeral. This twofold meaning of the indefinite article can be readily discerned, as in the following sentence: When I was a child [i.e., a definite child], I spake as a child [i.e., as any child]. The farther we go back, however, the more clearly the indefinite article shows its kinship with the indefinite pronominal and the numeral. Thus the Old High German writers frequently use it, where Wulfila used no article at all. For him both the numeral and the indefinite

pronominal *sums* were still too full of meaning, or rather, in Old High German the pronominal *ein* had become sufficiently colorless to be used in connections where it would formerly have suggested too much. But even in the article a remnant of the numeral still remains, as appears from the fact that in the plural the indefinite article cannot be used. Indeed, it seems as if we had taken a step backward in this regard, for in Mhg. such a plural is occasionally found, especially with nouns used in the plural only: *ze einen pfingsten*, etc. Corresponding to the indefinite article in the singular, no matter whether in indefinite or in individualizing sense, the German has a plural without any article: *ein guter Mensch; gute Menschen*. In English we have, corresponding to *a*, *an* in the indefinite sense, a plural without any article: *A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush: Birds of a feather flock together*. But corresponding to the individualizing indefinite article we have in the plural *some*: *There was a man in our town*, etc.: *There were some men in our town*. Why not call *some* an indefinite article also? _

§ 476. **Use of the Indefinite Article.** 1. In general the indefinite article is used in German just as in English; some differences were mentioned in the preceding section, others will be pointed out presently.

2. The indefinite article rather plainly reflects the function of the older indefinite pronominal and corresponds to our English *some* in a few set combinations which are remnants of a construction very common in Mhg.: *Wir trinken einen Kaffee; essen ein Butterbrot, eine Suppe*, and a few similar expressions. In Mhg. we find this construction still productive: *ein gras, ein wazzer, ein brot*,

ein *win*, etc. In some of the combinations still in use the meaning has changed somewhat, the article having rather individualizing function. *Ein Butterbrot essen* hardly means any more: to eat *some* bread and butter, but a piece of bread and butter, for we say also *drei Butterbrote*. In *Geben Sie mir ein Bier, einen Bittern, einen Schnaps*, etc., we have to do with elliptical expressions: *ein Glas Bier, ein Gläschen Bittern*, etc., for we say also *drei Bier, einen kleinen Bittern, drei Schnäpse*, etc.

3. The indefinite article with names of well-known persons usually designates persons of the same character: *Ein Goethe ersteht alle Jahrtausend einmal*: A man like Goethe comes once in a thousand years; similarly, *die Lessing sind seltene Erscheinungen*.

4. Indefinite, again corresponding to the English *some*, is the use of *ein* before ordinals: *ein Jährchen zwanzig*. Somewhat puzzling is the colloquial, *ein Stücker zehn, ein Jahrer dreißig*, and similar combinations. Perhaps the Low German (East Frisian) might throw some light on the real nature of these odd forms: *'n jahr of tein = etwa zehn Jahre, ein Jahrer zehn. 'n stück of drê*, etc., *etwa drei Stück, ein Stücker drei*. *Of* in this dialect is equivalent to High German *oder*, and in the older High German, *ein Stück oder zehn* and similar combinations are actually found.

5. Before names of trades the indefinite article may be used or not; but there is a difference in meaning. If we wish to state that a person has a certain trade, we do not use the article: He is a tailor: *er ist Schneider; er ist Professor des Deutschen*, etc. But if we mean to designate a man as one individual member of a class, the article

is in place: *I can tell any man by his appearance; this man is a tailor, that one a shoemaker: Ich kann einen Menschen an seinem Äußern erkennen; dieser ist ein Schneider, der da ein Schuhmacher.*

f. The Indefinite Pronoun

§ 477. Indefinite Pronouns and Indefinite Numerals.

Many of the words often classed with the indefinite pronouns are more nearly related to the numerals, being designations of an indefinite number or quantity. The more common ones of these are *mancher*, *nichts*, *jeder*, *jeglicher*, *etliche*, *einige*, *viel*, *wenig*, and their comparatives; *all*, *gesamt*, *sämtlich*, *ganz*, *halb*, *ein paar*, *lauter*, *ander*. Most of them give little occasion for comment beyond that readily found in any grammar.

1. Indefinite Numerals

§ 478. **Mancher**, a cognate of the English *many*, now designates an indefinite number, like the English *many a*. Originally it denoted "many," a large number. This meaning is at the bottom of the derivative *Menge*, and is still plainly felt in many combinations, particularly in connection with *so*, *wie*: *Ich habe manchen Stern, auf den man sich verließ, fallen sehen. . . . der Tod, den er so manches Mal vom Iselberg geschickt ins Tal. Und so manches, was ich weiß, weiß ich allein aus seinem Munde.* When used in this sense, *manch* has decidedly stronger stress than when used as an indefinite pronoun: *Gott grüßt manchen, der ihm nicht dankt*, where *manchen* is indefinite, as commonly used: God blesses many a man not thanking him. More definitely *many*, it would become

in this connection: *Was soll man sich über einen einzigen Undankbaren grämen: Gott grüßt manchen, der ihm nicht dankt.*—Before other adjectives with inflection *manch* often remains uninflected: *Manch schwerer Strauß*; similarly before unmodified neuter nouns in the nominative and accusative singular: *Manch Stückchen Brot hab ich mit ihm geteilt.* Not until late in New High German occurs the combination *manch ein guter Mensch*, the indefinite article following the pronominal, as in the English *many a*. This may be indicative of a slight change in the meaning of the word. Originally *mancher* meant *an individual oft repeated*, hence the word is to this day far more common in the singular than in the plural. As an indefinite pronoun it had become too general for singling out individuals, and as an indefinite numeral, like its derivative *Menge*, it now designates a mass as a unit rather than individuals oft repeated. To restore this older meaning, the individualizing *ein* was inserted.

§ 479. **etliche** and **einige** are close synonyms of *manche*; *etliche*, *einige* designate comparatively few or little, *mehrere* somewhat more, *manche* comparatively many. *Er hat schon etliche*, or *einige*, *Jahre an der Erfindung gearbeitet*, i.e., not surprisingly long. *Er hat schon mehrere Jahre daran gearbeitet*, i.e., about long enough; *er hat schon manches Jahr daran gearbeitet*, i.e., I either may wish to indicate the stupendousness of the task or the futility of the effort, but at all events am impressed with the length of time.

§ 480. **nichts** is really an old genitive of the older *niht* (= *nicht*). Unrecognized it continues as such in a number of combinations: *Er ist solcher Ehre würdig: nichts-*

würdig; also with comparatives as *weniger*, *mehr*, *nichts* is probably a continuation of the old genitive once common in such connections. Luther occasionally seems to have used *nichts*, conscious of its being a genitive; in 2 Cor. 12, 5, we find: *Von mir selbst aber will ich mich nichts rühmen, ohne meiner Schwachheit; meiner Schwachheit* is plainly a genitive with which *nichts* is parallel. And as he has: *Laß dich nicht gelüsten deines Nächsten Weibes*, so he has also: *Dich soll nichts gelüsten*. Lessing has *nichts ärmer*, *nichts deutlicher*, and colloquially we still hear: *Er ist nichts besser geworden*, but do not feel *nichts* as a genitive. To-day there is really no genitive or dative of *nichts*. It is used in these cases, uninflected, after prepositions only or with the article: *Er lohnt mich ab mit einem Nichts*.

The use of the genitive form is supposed to have started from an oddly strengthened negative coming in in the fourteenth century: *nihtesniht*, and still common in Low German: *He het nix nich seggt: Er hat nichts (nicht) gesagt*. In this combination, *nihtes*, *nix* was the partitive genitive depending on *niht* as was regularly the case. Through a confusion of feeling, started probably in other connections (see § 439), *nichts* was felt as the pronoun and *nicht* as the negative adverb. Thus they are now used.

§ 481. *jeder*, as a pronoun, corresponds to the English *every one*, as an adjective to *every*. It is really a compound of *ie* (= *je*) and *weder*, meaning *who of the two*. As other interrogative pronouns, so also *weder* was early used in indefinite sense: some one of the two. *Jeder* must, accordingly, have meant *ever* or *surely one of the two*, for the adverb *je* frequently had that meaning. As

to its formation, *jeder* quite corresponds to the English *every*, which also is a compound of *ever* and *each*, Middle English *euerich* < Anglo-Saxon *æfre* and *ælc*, *ever*, and the word continued in Scotch *ilk*, Low German *elk*, English *each*. Why the two peoples should have resorted to the same device is not explained, as a number of other remarkable coincidences originating long after their separation are unexplained. *Jeder* is used either as a pronoun or as an adjective. Its origin explains the fact that *jeder*, like *every*, is used with a singular noun only. Occasionally some one makes bold to use a plural form, but it strikes us as unusual.

§ 482. *jedermann* is plainly a compound, differing but little from *jeder*; *jeder* more clearly individualizes, like *every one*; *jedermann* corresponds more nearly to our *everybody*.

Until *jeder*, *jedermann* assumed their present meaning, without reference to the idea of *two*, *jeglich*, meaning nearly: *every one alike*, held their place. It is now obsolete.

§ 483. *viel* was even in Mhg. a neuter noun, meaning *multitude*, *abundance*, and used in the nominative and accusative only. We can understand why it should regularly have been followed by a partitive genitive, remnants of which we have in some standing combinations: *viel Wesens*, *viel Aufhebens*, *viel Redens*, *viel Glücks*, and some others. But early the word had a leaning toward the adjective, as appears from the fact that it is coupled with adverbs of degree: *sehr viel*, *so viel*, and others. Being itself without a genitive or dative form, the noun depending on it was put into these cases whenever the construction called for them: *zuo vil liuten*: *zu viel Leuten*.

Similarly a genitive with *vil* might seem to have been called for by other considerations: *Daz ist vil koufliute sitc*. In such combinations *viel* was soon considered as an indeclinable adjective. The next step was to give it adjective inflection for the genitive and dative singular, and throughout the plural. Finally endings were added also for the nominative and accusative singular, which are usually more strongly stressed than the corresponding uninflected forms: *viel Gold*, *vieles Gold*, *das viele Gold*, etc.; *damit ist schon viel* or *vieles gewonnen*.

§ 484. **wenig**, etymologically connected with *weinen*, throughout the Mhg. period meant *lamentable*, *pitiable*, *wretched*. From this it easily became *small*, *little*. In this sense also it occurs in Mhg. Possibly under the influence of *viel* it was used as a neuter noun in the nominative and accusative singular, and like *viel* was regularly followed by the genitive. Its development into its present use is probably quite analogous to that of *viel* described in the preceding paragraph.

§ 485. **all, ganz**. *Ganz* originally meant *whole*, *uninjured*, both of persons and of things. Of the latter it is still so used: *Es ist keine ganze Schüssel im Haus*. The notion of totality could readily be derived. In this meaning *ganz* often holds the place formerly occupied by *all* and corresponds here to the English *all* or *whole*: *ganz Deutschland*, all of Germany; *die ganze Stadt*, the whole city; similarly also, *die ganze Schweiz*, *die ganze Türkei*, not *ganz Türkei*. *All*, when inflected, has almost always strong inflection, but it is very commonly used without inflection before the definite article or pronominal forms: *alle Menschen*, *all* or *alle die*, *diese Menschen*, *all* or *alle*

seine Freunde, also *seine Freunde alle* or *all*. The English often uses the article with *all* where the German does not: *alle Zuhörer waren betroffen*: all the listeners were perplexed. In the eighteenth century *all* was sometimes used for *jeder*; Goethe has: *aller Vogel*, similarly in the plural: *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*. In certain combinations *all* may still interchange with *jeder*: *Er hat allen Grund*, *alle Aussicht*, *aller Art*; also the proverb: *Aller Anfang ist schwer*.

In the predicate *alle* often denotes exhaustion of a supply: *Die Suppe ist alle*. This strange use probably started in combinations such as these: *Das sind die Knaben alle*, implying that no more are coming. Similarly: *Das ist die Suppe alle*, that is all of the soup, do not look for more; then also, *die Suppe ist alle*.

Instead of the uninflected *all* before pronominals, we often find the form *alle*: *alle der Fleiß*, *alle das Gerede*. The origin of this *e* is not clear. In combinations as, *bei alle dem*, *trotz alledem*, and a few others we have to do with an old instrumental, formerly ending in *iu* (= *ü*), which regularly became *-e*. Inasmuch as also in such combinations the simple *all* was quite possible, it might be that analogously the *-e* crept into other forms also.

2. The Indefinite Pronoun

§ 486. **Various Forms Used as Indefinites.** Any definition that we might attempt of the indefinite pronoun would cover a number of forms not ordinarily classed with the indefinites. It was mentioned that the numeral *ein* was early used in indefinite sense, as our English *one*. Similarly the plural of the first and third person of the

personal pronoun often have clearly indefinite meaning: *Wir sind Gäste und Fremdlinge auf Erden*; English: *they say*, etc. The indefinite German *man* is nothing but the noun *Mann*, preserved in its older spelling, equivalent to the colloquial English, *a man, a fellow, a body*; and *jemand, niemand* are the same word prefixed with *je* and *nie*, *je* in the same general meaning as we found it in connection with *jeder*. The pronoun *man* is used in the nominative only, the oblique cases being supplied from forms of *ein*.

§ 487. **Interrogatives as Indefinites.** In the older language, as in Latin and other dialects, the interrogative regularly furnished the forms for indefinite use. To-day they have largely been supplanted by other forms, though they are kept in certain combinations and are freely used in the dialects. Thus we have the indefinite *wer* in conditional clauses: *Wer Sünde tut, der ist der Sünde Knecht*: *Whoever sins is the servant of sin*. Colloquially also: *Es kommt wer*; *es gibt was* or *etwas*, which is but a compound of *was*. Also the plural *welche*, used where *einer* would be used in the singular, is an interrogative with indefinite sense: *Kannst du mir einige gute Bücher leihen?* *Ja, ich habe welche*, but: *Nein, ich habe keine*, *kein* being a derivative of *ein*, with a plural ending; colloquially *eine* is similarly used in the plural, while *welch* is also used in the singular when referring to nouns denoting quantity: *Gib mir etwas Geld, wenn du welches hast*.

g. *The Relative Pronoun*

§ 488. **Relative Sentences.** Relative sentences expand some idea suggested in the clause on which they

depend. While always dependent in form, only some are also logically dependent, serving in the function of the subject, the predicate, the object, or an adjective or adverbial modifier. These always readily answer to some question: *Der Mann, der das Wenn und das Aber erdacht, hat sicher aus Hækkerling Gold schon gemacht: Welcher Mann hat Gold gemacht?* Others really represent main clauses, at any rate, they do not form an element of the clause on which they formally depend: *Freunde in der Not gehen hundert auf ein Lot, was uns täglich die Erfahrung lehrt.* Besides *was* (rarely *welches*), the pronominal combinations *wodurch*, *womit*, *worin*, etc., regularly having as their antecedent the whole clause, not some part of it, are the most common connecting words for this class of clauses.

Our extensive use of relative sentences is a late development. In Gothic and in the older stages of German other constructions freely compete with them. Wulfila renders the beginning of the Lord's Prayer: *Atta unsar þu in himinam: Father of us, thou in heaven.* Similarly in Old High German and in Old Saxon personal or demonstrative pronouns often take the place that would now naturally be filled by a relative. Thus Otfrid has: *Anna hiaz ein wîb thâr, siu thionôta thâr manag jâr: Anna hieß ein Weib dort; sie diente dort manches Jahr.* We should be more apt to say: *die dort manches Jahr gedient hatte.* To be sure, in the oldest Germanic dialects relative clauses also occur, often visibly under Latin or Greek influence. In conversational speech, relative as well as other dependent clauses are to this day much less common than in writing. This is due to the nature of the subordi-

nate sentence generally. A relative clause, for example, always contains a thought fully developed beforehand, it is something finished as to content before it receives its form, similar to the clauses of indirect discourse. But in conversation we are inclined to develop a thought as we proceed, and for this purpose the sentence with demonstrative or personal pronouns is much better suited. In remembrance of the conversational style in which they originated, fairy tales, and stories for children, and fables, as well as dramas and novels imitative of the language of daily life freely make use of demonstratives where in more formal writing relatives might dispute the field: *Es war einmal ein König; der hatte*, etc. *Es war einmal ein kleines Mädchen, die ging in einem Wald spazieren. Da fand sie*, etc. A writer, having well thought out his subject, articulates his sentences by designating some parts as more, others as less important by means of main and subordinate clauses. In speaking we do not disregard such distinctions, but employ for the purpose of indicating them other means, particularly modulation and to some extent gesture in the wider sense of the term, including facial expression.

§ 489. **The Connectives in Relative Clauses.** The connection between the relative clause and its governing sentence is made by relative pronouns, relative adjectives, or relative adverbs. Nowhere in the Germanic languages do we find pronouns or adverbs especially intended to serve as relatives. An anaphoric demonstrative pronoun seems to have developed in pre-Indogermanic time to a pronoun with specifically relative function; but it found no entrance into the Germanic nor a number of related

dialects. Nevertheless, some remembrance of a relative construction must have lurked in them all, unless we are willing to regard it as a mere coincidence that a relative sentence and the necessary connectives in due time developed in them all. In Gothic the suffix *-ei* (= *i*), added to demonstratives, converts them into distinctly relative forms. In the German and English dialects likewise, demonstrative and indefinite (or interrogative) pronominals serve in relative function, without any change in form, however, at least on paper. Just how these forms acquired relative function we do not know with certainty. But it is probable that this took place in clauses formally co-ordinate with others, but elaborating upon some part of them and thus plainly subordinate to them in content. As long as the position of the finite verb in final position was not so strictly confined to dependent clauses, the transition from demonstrative to relative could more readily take place. In poetry, where the word-order is less rigidly regulated, and the dependent clause correspondingly less distinct, there can sometimes be doubt whether we have to do with a relative or a demonstrative sentence, though an oral rendering at once makes clear whether we decide for the one or the other. As an example we may take the *Nibelungenlied*, Bartsch 183:

Ich sage iu wer der wæfe, der der warte pfac.
 ein liehter scilt von golde im vor der hende lac.
 ez was der künec Liudegast der huote sîner schar.
 dirre gast vil edele sprancte hêrlichen dar.

Either as a relative or as a demonstrative clause the words *der huote sîner schar* (*der überwachte seine Schar*)

have the value of a side remark and the modulation approximately of a parenthetical clause: In pronunciation the pronoun, as a relative, suffers a diminution of stress, and the final word of the sentence, in this case *schar*, has a slightly more rising inflection, leading over to a continuation of the thought interrupted by the parenthesis. It is the modulation, if not foremost, yet as much as anything else, that stamps a clause as relative; neither the word-order nor the pronoun alone is always able to do so, and was still less able earlier in the Germanic languages. Even in modern English we are still familiar with relative sentences lacking any pronoun whatever, a type once found in all Germanic dialects. In Shakespeare they abound: "I have a brother is condemned to die" (*Measure for Measure*, I, 1). "There is a devil haunts thee" (*Henry IV*, II, 4). In Old High German and to some extent in Middle High German, similar constructions are not so very unusual (cp. Erdmann, *Synt. d. Sprache Otfrids*, I, § 217). In the sentence from *Richard II*, the words "is condemned to die" might easily relapse into a parenthesis, from which the construction might well have developed at a time when the verb could still do without a pronominal subject. Except for the punctuation on paper, similar sentences occur now and then in Modern German also. Sudermann, *Heimat: Ein Herr — sieht aus wie ein Fürst — und ein Fräulein wie eine Prinzessin. Das sind ihre Bedienten*. That is in imitation of colloquial speech. In more formal literature a writer would prefer: *Ein Herr, der aussieht wie ein Fürst*, etc. When in German it had everywhere become indispensable to express a subject for a verb, sen-

tences like those quoted attracted a personal or a demonstrative pronoun, and the latter developed into a relative when the sentence, clearly felt as dependent in thought, also adopted the outward form of a dependent clause by conforming to the rest of that class in the position of the finite verb. In Anglo-Saxon at first the demonstratives *se*, *seó*, *þæt* appear as relatives also, sometimes marked as such by the added particle *þe*, sometimes left without any clear distinction from the demonstrative. Comparatively late *who* and *which*, interrogatives early used in indefinite sense, dispute the field with *þæt*, which word had even at the time of Alfred begun to supplant the masculine and feminine *se* and *seó*. The German *wer*, *was*, and *welcher* developed into relatives by the same road; *welcher* is also used as a relative adjective attributive to a noun, but rarely.

The relative adverbs (*wo*, *wohin*, *woher*, and their collateral forms *von wo*, *von woher*, and the obsolete *von wannen*; *wann*, *wenn*, and *wie*) are as to their origin interrogative-indefinite; only *als* (from *also* < *al so*) and *da* are derived from demonstrative stems; as relatives are used also combinations of *wo*-, *wor*-, *war*- with a number of prepositions, as *wobei*, *womit*, *worum*, *warum*, *worüber*, and others.

Use of some of the Relatives

§ 490. *der*, *welcher*. Of the two *der* is decidedly the older as a relative pronoun. Developed from a demonstrative, it was at first used to define its antecedent, to point it out definitely. *Welcher* corresponds to the Mhg. indefinite pronoun *swelch*, with the generalizing *s* from

so-welch, corresponding to the English *so* in *whoso*, etc. At first it was, consistently, used in generalizing relative sentences, like *whoso*, *whoever*, at the same time retaining somewhat of the meaning that we might infer from its etymology *so-hwer-lich*, [*so-*]*wer-lich*, "of what nature, or quality." This meaning is still quite prominent in *welch* when used as an interrogative in exclamations: *Welch ein Mensch! Welche Schande!* Luther has also: *Welche Christo angehören, die kreuzigen ihr Fleisch samt den Lüsten und Begierden*, similar to the English: Such as belong to Christ, crucify, etc. To-day no broad distinction of meaning can be made between the two pronouns. Only that *welcher* has not succeeded, so far, in dislodging *der* in some of the connections to be mentioned, may well be due to a faint lurking remembrance of its earlier meaning. Thus after the personal pronouns particularly, and also after names of persons, *der* is still more common than *welcher*. Besides, in colloquial speech *der* is of far more frequent occurrence; in Low German it is still the only relative, while in Vienna and possibly some parts of South Germany *welcher* seems also in the language of every-day life to have gained considerable ground.

a. It is not possible to draw sharp lines between the use of *der* and *welcher*. Various considerations seem to determine the choice of one or the other. Lessing and other careful stylists avoid not only the juxtaposition of a relative and an article of the same form, as, *ein Bedienter, der der Tat verdächtig war*, for which he would prefer: *ein Bedienter, welcher der Tat*, etc.; he avoids even a relative of the same form with the article if a noun intervenes, writing not: *die Lücke, die*, but *welche er gelassen*

hatte. Generally, combinations as *die, die; der, der; dem, dem*, etc., are considered undesirable, while such as *die Menschen, die; der Taler, der*, etc., would seem unobjectionable. For somewhat different reasons the relative *dem* is avoided by many after the prepositions *nach, an*, and *seit*; *nach dem* might momentarily be mistaken for the conjunction *nachdem*, *seit dem* for *seitdem*, *in dem* for *indem*. Occasionally the relative *der* or members of its paradigm might be mistaken for the article, and here also *welcher* would probably take its place: *So ist es gewiß, daß Liebe, welche* (not *die*) *Rosenlauben, Myrtenwäldchen und Mondschein erst beleben muß, auch sogar Hobelspänen und Papierschnitzeln einen Anschein belebter Natur geben kann* (Goethe). On the other hand, in the genitive singular of the masculine and neuter we find almost exclusively *dessen*, a form of *der*, plainly because *welches*, the genitive of the masculine and neuter singular of *welch*—, would be identical with the neuter nominative and accusative singular.

b. Only *welcher*, not *der*, can be used as an attributive relative adjective: *er hatte ihm in Zeiten der Not beige-standen, welche Gefälligkeit ihm nun vergolten ward*. Similarly with *letzterer*: *welches letztere*, or *welch letzteres ihm nun vergolten ward*.

c. *der*, equivalent to 'he who,' is used in a correlative sentence if standing before the determinative *der* or *derjenige*: *der mich so viel geliebt, der ist nicht mehr; welcher*, as well as *der*, would be quite correct, however, if we rearrange the sentence: *derjenige* (or *der*), *der* (or *welcher*) *mich so viel geliebt hat, ist nicht mehr am Leben*. It can therefore again not be considerations of meaning that

rule in this case. Formerly *welcher* was used also before determinatives: *Welchen der Herr lieb hat, den züchtigt er*.

d. *Der*, used from the start to refer to the pronoun of the third person, is now, with some peculiarities, used also with the pronouns of the first and second persons, if it is the subject of its clause, in which case the verb of the relative clause should by rights agree with it in person and number. In Old High German two constructions were possible in this case. Either the relative *der* was used, construed with a verb in the first or second person agreeing with the antecedent: *Wir thie truogumês* (first person plural) *burdîn thes dages inti thera hizzi* (Tatian): *wir, die trugen die Bürde des Tages und der Hitze*. — *Ich bin Crist, ther sprichu mit thir* (Tatian): *Ich bin Christus, der mit dir spreche*. Frequently, on the other hand, the personal pronoun of the first and second person itself was used in relative function: *So wir ouh iz firnâmun, wir sidor quâmun* (Otfrid): *So haben auch wir es vernommen, (die) wir seither gekommen sind*. — *Thaz bin ih, giloubi mir, ih hiar sprichu mit thir* (Otfrid): *Das bin ich, glaube mir, (der) ich hier mit dir spreche*. In Mhg. this is rare. Authors of that period frequently refer to a first or second person just as they would to a third, with the relative *der*, and the verb in the third person: *Wa bist dû, der sînen bruoder vor nîde und vor hazze sluog* (Berthold). *Ir, die iezuo vor mînen ougen sint*, third plural (Berthold). But the same Berthold also has: *Der bin ih, der des hân* (first singular) *gepflegen*. — *Geruoche mir helfe tuon, dîme armen knechte, der niht enlougene* (first singular) *dînes namen: Geruhe mir Hilfe zu gewâhren, deinem armen Knechte, der (ich) nicht verleugne deinen Namen*. — *Nû verzaget*

darumbe niht, die abe deme wege der unschulde sît (second plural) *gefallen: Nun verzagt deshalb nicht, die (ihr) von dem Wege der Unschuld gefallen seid*. Starting in early Modern High German, often the antecedent personal pronoun is repeated after the relative, and a vocative counts for a second person also, which it really is: *Unser Vater, der du bist im Himmel*. Early Nhg. writers still had the simple relative pronoun, followed by the verb in the first or second person, agreeing with the antecedent: *ir di mir hî gefolgit sît* (second plural). Luther has this only in his earlier writings. Later he inserts the personal pronoun after the relative, as we do now, whenever he uses the verb of the first or second person: *der du bist im Himmel; ihr, die ihr arg seid; uns, die wir nicht sehen auf das Zeitliche, sondern auf das Ewige*. Side by side with this, however, he and his contemporaries frequently use the simple relative, but with a verb of the third person, a construction quite often found in Schiller and Goethe, but now felt as rather unusual: *Was kann ich tun, der selber hilflos ist?* (Schiller). *Ihr naht euch wieder, schwankende Gestalten, die früh sich einst dem trüben Blick gezeigt* (Goethe).

Confusion in the form of the verb could easily arise after a relative referring to a first person with a verb in the past: *Er hatte mich zurückgestoßen, mich, die ihn liebte*, where the form *liebte* might as well be taken for the third person as the first. Similarly the first and third person plural are alike both in the present and the past.

The first or second person of the pronoun in direct discourse must often be changed to the third person in

indirect discourse. If followed here by a relative, not infrequently the personal pronoun of the third person also is repeated, as the first or second would be in the corresponding direct statement. *Der du von dem Himmel bist, alles Leid und Schmerzen stillest*, would in quotation become: *der er von dem Himmel sei, alles Leid und Schmerzen stille*. Similarly also in a sort of independent indirect discourse: *Sie hatte einmal gelesen: Nichts ist ohne Zweck. Aber was war ihr Zweck? Ihr Zweck, die sie doch keine Blüte trieb*. She herself had asked: *Was ist mein Zweck? Mein Zweck, die ich doch keine Blüte treibe*. It may be noticed that as here, so often, the possessive adjective exerts the same influence as the personal pronoun.

e. After the interrogatives *welcher* and *wer*, *der* is regularly used as a relative: *Wer ist es, der hier Einlaß wünscht? Welcher Mensch ist unter euch, der hundert Schafe hat?* Almost invariably *der* is used also after *wie viele*, *wie wenige*, and the indefinites *einer*, *keiner*, *jemand*, *niemand*, *jeder*, *mancher*, *wenige*, *elliche*, etc.: *ihrer sind viele, die darauf wandeln. Und wenige sind ihrer, die ihn finden*.

§ 491. **wer and was** have assumed some of the functions formerly served by *der*, *das*; *was*, again, has branched out more in new directions than *wer*.

1. a. *Wer* is equivalent to the English *whoever*, referring to persons still indefinite or unknown, while *der* and *welcher* always have definite reference, even after the indefinite pronouns and numerals such as *jeder*, *keiner*, and others, which are at least definite as to number. *Wer* and its oblique cases, *wessen*, *wem*, *wen*, always refer to persons, the neuter *Weib* and *Kind*, as well as *Mann* and *Frau*. Consistent with its very general, indefinite

content, *wer* cannot follow its correlative, which is usually *der*, occasionally *er*. We say: *Wer fürs Wasser geboren ist, der stirbt nicht im Bett*, but not usually: *Der stirbt nicht im Bett, wer*, but rather *der* (or *welcher*) *fürs Wasser geboren ist*. Yet sometimes *wer* is used in such cases. In a few of these instances something can be said in its favor; in most cases *der* would seem more natural. In Schiller's: *Der sei gestoßen aus dem Recht der Schweizer, wer von Ergebung spricht an Österreich*, we should prefer *der*; similarly in: *Den schreckt der Berg nicht, wer darauf geboren*. On the other hand, *wer* seems used to good purpose in the following sentence from Wieland: *Ein jeder ist hier angehalten worden, wer noch* (i.e., no matter who it happened to be) *von unserm Stand und Orden seit einem halben Jahr in diesem Tal erschien*.

b. The correlative *der* may be omitted with *wer* if it would be in the same case with *wer*: *Wer andern eine Grube gräbt, (der) fällt selbst hinein*. *Wem Gott ein Amt gibt, (dem) gibt er auch Verstand*. *Wen die Götter verderben wollen, (den) schlagen sie mit Blindheit*, but more commonly: *Die Götter schlagen mit Blindheit, wen sie verderben wollen*. In general, the correlative in the nominative is oftener omitted than the one in an oblique case, particularly the genitive. In the nominative it is often omitted even though the relative be in some other case: *Wem Gott hilft, ist wohlberaten*; more naturally, however, *Wem Gott hilft, der ist wohlberaten*.

c. In Mhg. very frequently a relative sentence was used where we should now prefer a conditional clause, though *wer*-clauses sometimes still have conditional force. *Swer gerne mit uns vekte, wir sîn et aber hie*: *Wenn jemand*

mit uns kämpfen möchte, so sind wir eben wieder am Platz (Nibelungen). Daz heize ich stæte triuwe, swer die kan begân: Das nenne ich feste Treue, wenn jemand die erweisen kann (Nibelungen). Similarly also *der was* used: *Waz touc ez (the cross) ûf der wât, der's an dem herzen niene hât: Was nützt es (einem) auf dem Kleide, wenn man es nicht im Herzen hat (Hartmann).* The last sentence might give a clew as to the origin of this function of the relative. Not infrequently the relative pronoun is used without any definite antecedent, either in the nominative or some other case. In this sentence, the insertion of the indefinite *einem* in the main clause would make the relative clause quite in place in Modern German too: *Was nützt es einem, or jemand auf dem Kleide, der es nicht im Herzen hat.* Occasionally relative clauses with *wer*, but not with *der* or *welcher*, are still similarly used. *Es ist ein schlechtes Benehmen, wer sein eigenes Weib mit solchen Lügen beschimpft (Goethe).* Or: *Freiheit, — ein schönes Wort, wer's recht verstände. Es gibt noch mehr Zweifel zu lösen, wer daran seine Lust hat (Claudius).*

2. a. The neuter *was*, of the same origin as the personal *wer*, and of similar use at first, except that it always refers to objects or ideas, not persons, has now either its old indefinite, generalizing sense, or also definite reference, and is as such used after its correlative as well as before it. In indefinite sense it is equivalent to the English *whatever*: *Was du nicht willst, das man dir tu, das füg auch keinem andern zu.* To make both *wer* and *was* more plainly indefinite the adverb *immer* or *auch immer*, sometimes also *noch*, is added: *wer immer, was auch immer, wer noch*, just as *-ever* or *-soever* in *whatever*,

whatsoever. It might be well enough to add that also the English simple *who* is not infrequently used in the general sense for which the longer forms are available.

b. As to the use of the more definite *was*, whose place was held much longer by the earlier *das*, there is still considerable fluctuation. After substantive adjectives in the positive or comparative we have either *das* or *was*: *das Gute*, *das* or *was ich zu tun gedenke*. Seemingly, the more completely the adjective becomes a noun, which always involves a certain amount of definiteness, the less likely *was* is to follow as a relative. Thus *was* seems more natural after *etwas Gutes* than after *das Gute*. This is probably due to the greater definiteness of the adjective with the article, with which the wholly indefinite *was* accords less readily: *Dies Gute aber*, *das* — less likely *was* — *ich mit Tränen meinem Herzen abgewonnen*. For the same reason also superlatives, regularly accompanied by the definite article when used as nouns, show an increasing tendency to be followed by *das* rather than *was*: *Das Höchste*, *das der Mensch erstreben kann*, *ist Selbstüberwindung*. Yet in all these connections *was* is common too.

c. The ordinary noun denoting things is regularly followed by *das*, and the rather frequent use of *was* in this connection even by Goethe and Schiller, Freytag, Storm, and many other modern writers of good repute, cannot sufficiently recommend its use for imitation; it seems better, and even more in accord with the general custom of the authors offending, not to say with Goethe: *Das Büchlein*, *was*, but *das*, or with Freytag: *Das Gut*, *was*, but *das der Vater hinterlassen hat*.

d. *Was* exclusively is used to refer to the contents of a

clause, etc.: *Davon sagte er zu niemandem etwas, was* (i.e., not to make mention) *freilich ein Vergehen war, aber welches* (not *was* because it refers to *Vergehen*) *ihm vorzuwerfen mir, seinem Sohne, nicht ziemt* (Ricarda Huch). Goethe and Schiller and their contemporaries use for this *was* quite often *welches* which is occasionally found now.

§ 492. Under conditions similar to those in which the personal and the demonstrative pronoun not referring to persons enter into prepositional combinations with a demonstrative stem, as *hierbei*, *dabei*, *hiermit*, *dazu*, etc., also *was* is supplanted by similar combinations with an interrogative-indefinite stem: *wobei*, *womit*, *wozu*, *warum*, etc. And just as in the older stages the demonstrative *das* often occurred where we now commonly use *was*, so also the corresponding demonstrative combinations are, though less often, found where we now have corresponding indefinite ones with *wo-*, *war-*: *So was erinnert einen manchmal, woran man nicht erinnert sein will*. The antecedent of such prepositional relative compounds is very often a neuter pronoun, as *es*, *das*, *viel*, *wenig*, *etwas*, *nichts*, etc. But the antecedent is sometimes not expressed as in the sentence last quoted: *Ich habe alles versucht, wovon sich Erfolg versprechen ließ. Der Patriarch gebraucht mich zu allerlei, wovor ich großen Ekel habe. Das ist's, warum mein blutend Herz nicht heilt*. Similar combinations with *da-*, though still found, are no longer quite usual in relative function: *Das Brot, damit ich Euch gespeist* (Exodus 16, 32). *Das Häuschen, darin Reinhard und Malva still verständigende Stunden hatten* (Auerbach).

In many cases it is a matter of choice whether these

prepositional compounds are to be used or the preposition with the appropriate case of the relative *der*, etc.: *Die Hand, womit, or mit der, er dich hält, ist treu und stark.* Where the prepositional combination really represents a form of *was* (not of *das*), it must be kept; thus when it refers to the content of a clause: *Er hatte längst den Ort verlassen, wovon ich aber nichts wußte.* It is also the rule after the indefinite pronouns and numerals mentioned. Where there is a choice, the relative pronoun with the preposition is the more apt to be used, the more definite the antecedent; often, accordingly, it is found after demonstratives: *das war die große Tat, mit der er sich brüstete.*

§ 493. **Relative Adverbs: wo, da, wie.** The prepositional combinations, such as *womit, damit*, etc., not very appropriately called relative adverbs, find their most natural explanation from the fact that *wo* and *da* themselves are also used quite freely as relatives, first and principally in regard to place and time. We can readily understand a clause with *da* or *wo* after a prepositional phrase denoting place, as: *In dem Ort, wo (earlier da) wir wohnen.* At first probably the second phrase was intended to be parallel to the first, as it is now in: *In Berlin, wo wir wohnen.* But in meaning it was quite equivalent to: *In dem Ort, in welchem wir wohnen*, and it was but a small step to: *Der Ort, wo, or da wir wohnen*, which made *wo* and *da* really equivalent to relative pronouns, and thus they were soon used in temporal relations also: *Der Tag, da ich ihn fand.* *Ich bin in einem Alter, wo mir die schönen Worte nichts mehr helfen.* Occasionally *wie* is used similarly in temporal relations: *Nie habe ich mächtiger*

empfunden, als zu der Zeit, wie mein erster Geliebter fürs Vaterland auszog (Möser). *Es fällt in die Zeiten, wie ich die von Miltenberg in der Wirtsstube fand* (Goethe).

h. *The Interrogative Pronoun*

§ 494. **Wer, was.** Little needs to be said with regard to the interrogatives. The same forms were even in Indo-Germanic times used both as interrogatives and as indefinites, only that as interrogatives they bore a stronger accent. *Wer* regularly asks for persons and personified objects, *was* asks for things and actions, quite like our English *who* and *what*. Of the masculine, representing both the singular and the plural, all the cases are used; the older short form *wes* for the genitive in the compounds *weswegen*, *weshalb*; otherwise *wessen*; but in the Bible: *Wes ist das Bild und die Überschrift?* Occasionally the form *wer*, plainly made in analogy with the demonstrative *der*, is used as a feminine dative: *Von Helios gezeugt? von wer geboren?* But it cannot be claimed as belonging to the paradigm. *Wer ist dein Vater? Wer sind deine Eltern? Wer von euch?* etc., but: *wer kommt*, with a singular verb, though several persons are expected.

Was really is used neither in the genitive nor in the dative, though occasionally *wessen* and *wem* are found for these cases. Only the combinations *weswegen*, *um wessentwillen* are common. For prepositions with the dative or accusative of *was* we have regularly, *warum*, *wozu*, *womit*, etc.; often also: *um was*, *zu was*, *für was*, *wegen was*. These combinations are found in good authors and are common colloquially.—The accusative *was* is often used in sentences more or less exclamatory

as an adverb in the sense of *why, how much, how greatly*: *was rufst du mich? Was suchet ihr den Lebendigen bei den Toten? Was ich mich manchmal sehne, alte Freunde wieder zu sehen!* (Goethe). *Was freu ich mich nicht deiner, liebes Mädchen!* (Lessing). Very commonly *was*, by itself, is an expression of surprise, like the English *what?* with the same inflection.

§ 495. **welcher, welche, welches** is used in inquiring for a particular individual in a group of persons, things, etc.: *Welcher Mensch kann das ungerührt mit ansehen?* i.e., what particular one of the whole species. *Welcher unter ihnen ist der Nächste gewesen dem, der unter die Mörder gefallen war?* for which we could also say: *wer von ihnen*, etc. *Welcher* is also the regular interrogative adjective: *welcher Mensch? in welchem Sinn?* In English both *which* and *what* are used as attributive adjectives with nouns. Colloquially Germans say also: *Was 'n Vergnügen*, possibly under Low German influence.

§ 496. **Was für (ein)** asks for the quality of an object. The combination is comparatively new. Originally it must have been used in its literal significance. *Was hast du für Lohn?* now meaning *what sort of wages have you?* first surely meant: *what have you in the place of wages*. The other meaning could easily develop, and we now say also: *mit was für einem Lohn*, etc., *was für* having become an idiomatic combination quite equivalent to an adjective. It seems like a peculiar coincidence again that the same combination should have made a start in English also. Curme quotes from Shakespeare, *Much Ado*, I, 3: *What is he for a fool that betroths himself to unquietness?*

The territories of *was für* and *welch-* are not clearly

separated. Thus Recha says: *Ihr müßtet über den Euphrat, Tigris, Jordan ; über—wer weiß was für Wasser all (Nathan) where we might look for welche Wasser all ;* while a few lines before *was für* seems to be in place: *Was für Berge, für Wüsten, was für Ströme trennen uns denn noch,* Goethe, on the other hand, has, in *Iphigenia*: *Welch Leben ist's, das an der heil'gen Stätte . . . ich nur vertrauen muß?*

VI. THE PARTICLES

§ 497. **Meaning of the Term.** Under the term 'Particles' are comprehended adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections, a group of words which are not subject to inflection and the attendant variation of relations as found particularly in verbs and nouns. In part they never partook of any inflection, as many of the interjections and some of the prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions. A large number of particles, on the other hand, are petrified inflectional forms, cases of nouns, adjectives or pronouns, or verbal forms, used at first in their particular meaning to which their case or form might entitle them, but misunderstood in some way, and applied more or less mechanically in relations offering from some side sufficient similarity to the original construction to suggest the use of the particular particle. The particle is born when the original form leaves its paradigm, i.e., when it is no longer felt that the particular meaning in which it is used depends upon the inflectional ending it may happen to have, but is inherent in the particle as such. An instructive example we have in the German *während*, now a preposition or a conjunction.

Originally it was a participle, as its form still plainly shows. But its present meaning dates back to one particular form and use, the adverbial genitive of time: *Ich singe während der Arbeit*, meaning: I sing while the work lasts, the work lasting. In Early New High German also prepositions were used, as: *in während der Mahlzeit*, *unter während dem Gespräch*, etc., and such combinations are still colloquially used and imitated by authors to give local coloring; but our preposition *während* clearly started from the simple adverbial genitive. *Während der Arbeit* was misapprehended as *während der Arbeit* in analogy with other prepositional combinations, such as: *zu der Arbeit*, *unter der Arbeit*, and thus a new preposition was started. In a similar manner many others had their origin.

§ 498. **Independent Nature of the Particles.** *Während* is still used largely in temporal relations or to denote contrasts, quite like our English *while*, an old adverbial accusative, somewhat more readily recognized in the older *the while*: *Während die Leute schliefen, kam der Feind und säete Unkraut unter den Weizen*: While men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat. But two events taking place contemporaneously are very easily contrasted. Not only *während*, but also *indem*, *indes*, occasionally also *da* are used to introduce contrasts: *Sie entfernen sich, da ich komme*. This may be interpreted either way. *Manche Menschen werden zeitlebens nicht klug, indes, während*, less commonly *da andere als Greise geboren werden*. In this sentence the temporal relation is out of the question; the particles denote a contrast.

The more completely a petrified form becomes a par-

ticle, the more apt is it to branch out into other fields as to meaning and function. Particularly the step from local to temporal, from temporal to causal relations or relations of contrast seems common and easy; but also other transitions are not uncommon. Thus the accusative of the old feminine *halbe*, meaning *side*, *direction*, was and is in many combinations still used in local sense: *außerhalb*, *innerhalb*. Formerly also words as *deshalb*, *weshalb*, had more nearly local meaning, as to-day *dieserhalb*, 'in this respect.' They are still so used by Goethe, Herder, etc.: *er überzeugt ihn von seinem eigenen Gefühl deshalb* (in this regard) (Herder). . . . *den kleinen Aufsatz, den ich deshalb* (on this subject) *aus dem Stegreife schrieb* (Goethe). Even this was a generalization of the older meaning of *-halb*. *Innerhalb* is now also used temporally: *innerhalb eines Monats*. A further step was taken when in connections, easily imaginable, *deshalb* might be understood as giving a reason, in which sense it is now exclusively used, while combinations with *halben*, as *meinethalben*, *deinethalben*, etc., preserve the dative of the same word with somewhat more nearly its old meaning: *meinethalben ist nichts zu besorgen*, 'on account of me nothing is to be feared'; originally it would have meant 'from my side nothing is to be feared.' Both *halb* and *halben*, in the sense of 'because of,' were formerly also used after the genitive of nouns: *der Folgen halb*, *der Schmerzen halben*. From this use a new and anomalous form, *halber*, coming in in the fifteenth century, has now displaced them: *des Regens halber*. The origin of the form is not known; but the very fact that the wholly anomalous ending could be added shows how completely

halb had ceased to be a noun and had put aside all the restraints of its old class. The English *on behalf* (with the collateral *in, upon behalf*) is seemingly a contaminated form of the old *by half* and *on half* both used in the same sense in Anglo-Saxon.

But the general development of particles from their source to their present meaning and functions could be treated more appropriately in a treatise on semasiology or in a dictionary than at this place. Paul's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* goes far to supply the need in this direction for German.

§ 499. **Decay of Form.** The separation of the particles from their original associates very naturally often brings with it a decaying of the original form. Thus the English *because* comes from the older *by cause*, *along* from older *and + lang*, better preserved in the German *entlang*. Not a few of the interjections both in German and English are mutilations of words commonly regarded as sacred. 'Zounds' for 'God's wounds' is probably an unintentional phonological development; other forms bear the stamp of having been invented for a purpose. Such are the German *Potz* for *Gotts* in combination with *tausend* and other words: *Potz tausend*, *Potz Teufel*; similarly we have *Sapperment*, *Sackerlot* for *Sakrament*, *Jerum* for *Jesus*; English *Gee* for *Jesus*, *Gosh*, *Golly*, etc., for *God*, etc.

§ 500. **Use of the Particles.** To treat in detail the use of the various particles is beyond the scope of this book. Regarding the adverb, reference might be made to §§ 450 and 451; also to §§ 196-214; for the prepositions to §§ 215-219. Interjections, we might almost say, are beyond any rules, being the spontaneous expression of

more or less intense feeling. The conjunctions, particularly such as: *daß, weil, aber, sondern, während, indem*, and others coming from different parts of speech, afford in their development opportunities to watch many interesting language processes. But it is difficult to treat them as a group. Their present use is fairly well covered by the ordinary grammar. A few more or less random remarks may serve to indicate the line of their development.

It is a common view that the conjunctions join various members of our speech, and in some relations they do, more, at least, than in others: *His labor and his hopes and his sufferings had been for naught*. In a sentence of this sort the nouns are joined by the conjunctions, at least they serve to indicate an inner connection, which exists also if the conjunctions are omitted and is hardly less noticeable without them: *His labor, his hopes, his sufferings had been for naught*. We should hardly say, however: *I have a cow, a horse for sale, but, a cow and a horse*. Particularly the connection between clauses is indicated quite as much by other means, probably, as by conjunctions. This connection depends upon the logical interrelation of the various clauses, which finds its most adequate representation in modulation, the variations of pitch and stress and tempo, by stops and pauses, facial expression and gestures, all of which are very faintly suggested on paper by means of punctuation, but, after all, depend upon the living voice for any adequate rendering. Pronouns are always indicative of such connections, for pronouns always stand for concepts already formed. *Der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt: das lehrt die ganze*

Menschheitsgeschichte; *das* could not be used but for this inner connection between the two sentences. Accordingly, a number of our conjunctions indicative of similar connection go back to pronominal stems: *daß*, *da*, *denn*, *so*, and *nun*. Others are of different origin. We select a few of them for treatment.

a. *daß*, in its antiquated orthography (*ß*) indicating its separation from the pronoun *das*, can be seen to develop from the demonstrative into the conjunction in the history of the German language, though the process had already started in Gothic. Not altogether infrequently we find even in Middle High German instances in which the rhythm or rime of the verse demands that a *daz*, which we should now surely consider a conjunction and as such draw to the dependent clause, must be considered a nominative or accusative of the pronoun and a part of the main clause. *Du sagst, er komme, und sie glaubt das, er komme* was the type from which *sie glaubt, daß er komme* developed. Pronominal origin of the conjunction is also indicated in its combination with certain prepositions, frequent in Middle High German and still not uncommon in Low German: *durch daz er videlen kunde*: because he could fiddle, cp. older English *for that he could fiddle*; Anglo-Saxon *for þâm þe* or *for þâm*. In Mhg. *umbe daz*, *âne daz*, *für daz*, *bedaz* < *bî daz* are similarly used. In Low German *um dat* = *because*, is the only one left: *Ik heb hum mitnomen um dat hê dâr al west har*: I took him along because he had been there before. Starting thus from the pronominal in subject and object clauses, *daz*, when fully degenerated into a conjunction, was pressed into service for many other purposes also.

b. *da*, representing the Mhg. temporal *dô* and the local *dâ*, is a derivative of the same demonstrative stem as that of *das*. We met it in the company of the relative and demonstrative pronouns, and it is still used as a relative and demonstrative adverb of local and temporal meaning, which it formerly had also as a conjunction. It is now more commonly a causal conjunction, starting in this new function probably from the temporal *dô*. The transition is a very natural one. *Da er aber das Volk sah, ging er auf einen Berg, . . . und tat seinen Mund auf und lehrte sie* (Matthew 5, 1). Here *da*, as very often in the Bible, is probably purely temporal. *Da nun die Leute schliefen, kam der Feind und säete Unkraut unter den Weizen*, is still on the line. But if we should say: *Da nun die Leute schliefen, wagte sich der Feind hervor und säete Unkraut unter den Weizen*, we should have taken a long step toward the causal meaning. As *da* became more and more clearly causal, *als* took its place as a temporal particle. Its English cognate *as* has a good start in the same direction, and the German synonym *wie* likewise: *As I got to the station the train was leaving*.

c. *denn* and *weil*. *Denn* has a peculiar history. Originally an adverb, it is a collateral form for *dann*. Both were formerly indiscriminately used in the same sense, again corresponding to the English *then* and *than*. North German dialects as a rule have *denn* exclusively, South German ones *dann*; *dann* is now regularly temporal, *denn* less clearly so, indicating logical as much as temporal sequence: *so ging ich denn nach Hause*. It did not come into use as a conjunction until towards the end of the Old High German period, when it took the place of

the older *wande* or *wan*. The latter form was used at the time both in temporal and causal clauses, while *dann* had been confined to temporal and conditional sentences: *thanne thu giladôt werdes zi brâllouftin, ni gisezzes in thera furistun steti* (Tatian). In the temporal clauses it overlapped with *wan* and probably from here found its way also into causal clauses.

And yet there is some ground for thinking that the approach was made from some other direction. For while, as a temporal conjunction, *dann* took the place of *wan* in dependent clauses only, causal clauses with *denn* still have the form of main clauses. The corresponding dependent clauses are introduced by *da* or *weil*. *Weil* as to its origin is the accusative of the noun *Weile*. Significant collateral forms are *dieweil* and *alldieweil*, now both obsolete. As its English cognate *while* to this day, *weil* had at first temporal force and developed into a causal conjunction in a manner similar to that pointed out for *da*.

Denn and *weil* should not be used indiscriminately as the corresponding English *for* and *because* often seem to be. *Denn* gives the reason for a judgment, *weil* the cause or source of an action. We can use only *weil* in assigning the source, the 'why' of any action: *Der Baum stirbt, weil ihm die Wurzeln abgeschlagen sind*. On the other hand, *denn* is called for in: *Ich glaube, der Baum wird sterben, denn dem sind ja die Wurzeln abgeschlagen*. *Wenn du mir nicht helfen willst, weil ich schwach bin, so hilf mir, weil ich einst deine Stütze gewesen*. But, *hilf mir, denn ich bin schwach*. One of the chief distinctions between the *weil* and *da* clauses and those with *denn* is the difference in modulation. A clause with *denn* always has lower

pitch than the clause it modifies, the same difference existing between them in regard to pitch as if they were coupled without a conjunction: *Hilf mir: ich bin schwach; help me: I am weak.* Compare the difference in meaning between the following pairs: *The tree cannot live. Its roots have been injured;* i.e., this is the cause *I assign*, the reason for my statement. In: *The tree cannot live because its roots have been injured*, the *because*-clause denotes the cause for the action of the tree itself. Commonly the English *for* corresponds to the German *denn*, *because* to *weil* and *da*, but in English the lines are no longer sharp. Where, with or without *for* (or *because*), the causal clause calls for lower pitch, *denn* must be used, otherwise *weil* or *da*.

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ALPHABETICAL INDEX

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